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Full Relations With The Philippines Established

HK0402093389 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY GLOBE in English 4 Feb 89 pp 1, 6

[Text] The non-resident envoy of Albania to the Philippines presented his credentials to President Aquino yesterday to mark the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Ambassador Justin Papajorgji, who is based in Beijing, told the GLOBE that the opening of diplomatic relations would lead to better business relations.

He said that although his country is socialist and led by a communist party, it will not support local insurgencies and other illegal movements in "friendly countries," including the Philippines.

Papajorgji said the exchange of notes opening diplomatic ties with the Philippines was initiated two years ago by Albania through the Philippine Embassy in Beijing.

After the signing of the agreement for normal relations with Ambassador Alfonso Yuchengco on June 11, 1987, Ambassador Tomas Syquia, Philippines' envoy to Belgrade, presented his credentials to the president of Albania.

Papajorgji said he will work for the development of trade relations between the two countries.

He observed that among the products that the Philippines can sell to Albania are coconut oil, sugar, and other agricultural products.

In return, Albania can sell to the Philippines steel products like pig iron.

Albania is a tiny mountainous country of three million which shares common border with Yugoslavia and Greece. Politically, it is led by the Albanian Party of Labour, a communist party.

Despite its smallness, Albania takes pride in its independence from all the superpowers and describes its foreign policy as nonaligned.

He explained that because Albania was able to "liberate" itself from German-Italian occupation forces during World War II without any help from the Allies, it is able to resist the dictates of the strong.

A former ally of the Soviet Union, Albania broke relations with Moscow in 1961 because of doctrinal disputes.

People's Councils' Meeting Reported

AU0402142589

[Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 27 January publishes on page 3 reports on meetings of the people's councils in the districts of Fier, Kukes, Gjirokaster, and Sarande.

A 1,200-word report by Klement Vido describes the meeting of the Fier District People's Council on 26 January, which was also attended by Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. At this meeting, Dhimiter Brisku, chairman of the Fier District People's Council Executive Committee, delivered a report on "The fulfillment of the 1988 Plan and Budget, and the Tasks in 1989." After noting in general terms that certain successes had been achieved in 1988, the report also states: "Despite these, there were considerable failures in plan fulfillment in some sectors," blaming these on subjective factors, and adding that: "The times require a revolutionary rhythm and people who are capable of finding reserves and who possess initiative and a combatant spirit in resolving problems, instead of postponing them." Manush Myftiu congratulated the district for the successes attained, and concurred that the failures were due to "subjective factors," stressing also the role of socialist emulation and "a more correct use of moral and material stimulae."

A 600-word report by Izet Duraku describes a meeting of the Kukes District People's Council, date not given, which was attended by Jovan Bardhi as representative of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The report delivered by Muharrem Mezini, chairman of the Kukes District People's Council Executive Committee, points out that the industrial production plan was "fulfilled 100 percent and the export plan was overfulfilled by 500,000 leks.

A "correspondent" reports on the meeting of the Gjirokaster District People's Council, date not given, which was attended by Vito Kapo, minister of light industry, as representative of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The meeting was addressed by Flamur Cani, chairman of the Gjirokaster District People's Council Executive Committee. The report states that "with the exception of the food processing enterprise, all other collectives had fulfilled their plan." The report also stressed some failures in the fulfillment of plans with regard to certain crops "due, primarily, to subjective factors."

A meeting of the Sarande District People's Council, date not given, is described by Shkelqim Hajno. Themie Thomai, minister of agriculture, represented the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The report delivered by Fatmir Kucuku, chairman of the Sarande District People's Council Executive Committee, points out that "although the general target was not reached, industrial production increased by 19 million leks, compared with 1987. "Subjective factors" were again blamed for shortcomings

Tirana BASHKIMI of 28 January carries, also on page 3, reports from meetings of the people's councils in the districts of Korce, Shkoder, Vlore, and Kruje.

An 800-word report by Ilir Buzali describes the meeting of the Korce District People's Council on 27 January, which was also attended by Lenka Cuko, AWP CC

Politburo member and secretary. The report delivered by Gjergj Krastafillaku, chairman of the Executive Committee, notes that the district fulfilled its 1988 export plan by "only 73 percent." In her speech, Lenka Cuko stressed that all enterprises should follow the example of "advanced experience," as well as the importance of "increasing the range of export commodities."

An 800-word report by Zija Behri describes the meeting of the Shkoder District People's Council on 27 January, which was also attended on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly by Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Bujar Bedalli, chairman of the executive committee, delivered a report on the district's 1988 performance, without giving any significant figures.

An 800-word report by Maksim Kroi describes the meeting of the Vlore District People's Council on 27 January, which was also attended by Besnik bekteshi, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. A report on the district's performance was delivered by Luan Muhameti, chairman of the executive committee, again without any significant figures. In his speech, Besnik Bekteshi stressed: "Cadres play an important part in the fulfillment of all tasks."

An unnamed "correspondent" describes the meeting of the people's council in the district of Kruje, which was attended by Xhafer Spahiu, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. Petraq Kalemi, chairman of the executive committee, delivered the report on the district's 1988 plan and budget fulfillment and on the 1989 tasks. The report includes no significant figures and stresses mainly the achievements and shortcomings of various agricultural units.

Further Accounts

AU0302142689

[Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 29 January publishes on page 3 accounts from meetings of the people's councils of Tirana, Permet, Lushnje and Berat districts.

A 1,200-word report by Pellumb Bataj describes the meeting of the Tirana District People's Council, which was attended by Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. Leandro Zoto, chairman of the Tirana People's Council Executive Committee delivered a report on the 1988 economic performance and the major tasks in 1989.

In his account of the meeting, Pellumb Bataj reports that the meeting revealed that: "The truth is that 1988 was a year of great struggles to fulfill the tasks. The planned tasks were fulfilled well in many respects, in industrial production, in the engineering industry, in the energy sector, in construction, communications, and so forth. But..."

Bataj says that some speakers sought to justify nonfulfillment "not through comparisons with the planned tasks, but with the figures of the previous year. Further on, Bataj says: "It is the task of the council to see to it that if someone does not fulfill his tasks, he should leave his post, let someone who can do better take it."

Reporting on Foto Cami's speech, Bataj cites: "It is currently essential to tighten organization, discipline, and control to ensure rhythmical production and good quality, particularly regarding the fulfillment of tasks by the larger enterprise, which have more problems. Solicitude for the larger national enterprises is an acute question and the work on this question must concretely reflect the cooperation between the district organs and the central departments.

A 600-word report by Pandeli Naqe describes the meeting of the people's council in Permet District, which was attended by Petro Dode as representative of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. No significant figures were included in the report delivered by the chairman of the executive committee, Resul Zani.

A 900-word report by Petrit Kraja, describes the meeting of the Lushnje District People's Council, which was attended by Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary. A report was delivered by Gjergj Velo, chairman of the executive committee, mostly detailing the yields attained in various crops.

A 800-word report by Shpetim Shehu describes the meeting of the Berat District Council, which was attended by Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of people's defense. Kristaq Kule, chairman of the executive committee, delivered the report. Among other things, Shehu says that the council heard that: "The overrall industrial production plan was fulfilled 92 percent." The report shows that not all agricultural cooperatives and enterprises met their targets. In his speech, Prokop Murra stressed that the current year's tasks "require concrete action and the adoption of urgent measures to find solutions to all problems."

Council of Ministers Discusses January Plan

AU0602201089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers met this morning, chaired by Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers analyzed and made decisions relating to the fulfillment of the plan for January, and prescribed measures for the successful fulfillment of the plan for February and the first quarter of this year. Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, reported on these matters. The meeting pointed out successes in the fulfillment of the January plan by working people in the food industry, the light industry, engineering, soil improvement, communal services, and so forth. The Council of Ministers drew

attention to some sectors where tasks have not been performed according to plan, as in the production of enriched chrome and chrome concentrate, soda, fluoride polymers, copper, and others. In the spirit of the decisions of the seventh AWP Central Committee plenum and Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions, the Council of Ministers, with a high sense of responsibility, discussed problems involved in fulfilling tasks under all circumstances and on all fronts. For example, it discussed the strengthening and further refinement of organization and management on the part of the administration, and the better coordination of work among its departments. The meeting of the Council of Ministers said that the situation requires that the departments of the central administration, individually and in cooperation with each other, must respond in every detail to the seventh AWP Central Committee plenum, keep abreast of their work and offer swift and concrete solutions to problems and difficulties that emerge in labor and daily efforts to fulfill the plan. The ministries, among their other duties, as the plenum instructed, must fulfill their tasks and [word indistinct]. Also, among shortcomings observed in January, the Council of Ministers drew attention to the need for more vigorous working methods on the part of the apparatus and the central administration, which must inspire a spirit of mobilization and achieve the targets set by the plan in all its aspects.

In discussing the role and importance of transportation in fulfilling tasks in all sectors, additional measures were decided upon to ensure plan fulfillment in all kinds of transportation, and to eliminate bottlenecks in freight transport. Also, bearing in mind the conditions created by the prolonged drought, that have caused difficulties in electricity production, and reductions in the reserves of drinking water and water for agricultural purposes, specific measures were laid down to tighten further the savings regimen in water use.

The Council of Ministers set guidelines for mass actions corresponding to the need to create new agricultural land, in connection with the collection and processing of organic fertilizer, the improvement of work in the chrome industry, and so forth. The Council of Ministers analyzed [words indistinct] for the years 1991-95, and made the appropriate decisions on various other issues.

Press Comments on Role of Small States

AU0602195289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Feb 89 p 4

[Paskal Milo article: "All Countries Have Their Responsibility for International Problems."]

[Text] The reductions in tension currently observed in some aspects of international life have been welcomed by international public opinion. Every fruitful and sincere effort to confront the acute problems that the world faces today, such as the arms race, hunger, the ever-deepening North-South divide, regional conflicts, terrorism, environmental protection, drugs, and so forth, has aroused the interest of all the peoples, large and small, and has met with their appreciation.

The greater role played by the world community and the UN, and a spirit of concensus in solving misunderstandings and regional conflicts, have had the effect of putting some problems in international life on course toward solution. These developments, if they become irreversible, will be to the good of the peace and security of the peoples. However, their progress is determined by a number of objective and subjective factors, whose operation leads to certain results. As our party has emphasized, the principal and decisive factor in reducing international tension and in leaving no paths open for the superpowers' hegemonistic policies remains the unity of the efforts, desires, and goodwill of the entire world community and all states and nations.

The current detente in Soviet-American relations, the signing of the agreement to remove intermediate-range missiles from Europe, the achievement of a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq, the agreements on Afghanistan and Namibia, and the talks being carried out to find solutions for Cambodia, the Western Sahara, and so forth, are recent developments on the world political scene. In this context, there is a great deal of discussion about the nature of today's international relations, as well as about the role and contribution of large and small states, and of Political personalities in defining them.

The weight and role of different states in constructing international relations vary and are dependent on many factors, not forgetting the size of the country and its population, economic and military power, and so forth. At different periods of history, one or another way of thinking of the great powers has set its seal on these relations. The creation of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, broke this monopoly and introduced new and hitherto unfamiliar elements into international relations. The panorama of modern international relations has been enriched by the active and growing involvement of medium and small countries, which exert a major influence on discussions and efforts to solve the modern world's acute and sensitive problems. The value of the assistance that each state gives cannot and must not be assessed by the size of this state, but by whether it promotes peace, security, democracy, progress, friendship, cooperation, and understanding.

In the international sphere, it is often said today that the world finds itself faced with a turning-point in international relations toward understanding and trust between allies and opponents, and that what has been achieved up till now is a result of the desire and goodwill of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and their leaders. In his speech to the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, Comrade Ramiz

Alia said: "We can only accept that we are facing a turning-pont in international relations in the direction of understanding and trust between allies and opponents if we belive that the policies of states are not determined by their social systems, and that the leaders of these states are not products of their systems."

The United States and the Soviet Union are great imperialist powers and, in consequence, the policies of their leaders, whether Reagan, Bush, Gorbachev, or somebody else, are not personal. Despite the well-known part played by personalities in pursuing foreign policy, their policies essentially depend upon and are determined by the social system at home and the interests of a given state in the international arena.

The international community is concerned to maintain peace and security, preserve the environment from pollution, and combat terrorism, drugs, diseases, and so forth. This implies common measures on the part of the international community, which have in some cases not been lacking. However, when the problem of preserving peace arises, it cannot be separated from the question of who is threatening peace, and when the issue of armaments arises one cannot fail to stress who is waging the arms race and threatening the peoples' peace and security. Domestic and foreign circumstances, economic and political reasons, and short- and long-term aims also influence the present Soviet-American policy of detente. This means that the solution of one or another regional conflict or the reduction of local tension cannot be stable when the protagonists are two or three major powers alone. The superpowers decide on their steps on the basis of their hegemonistic interests, and not out of a desire for peace and reduced tension.

The peaceful regulation of international problems and of world problems as a whole is a major duty for all states and peoples, and cannot merely be left in the hands of the superpowers and their leaders. Therefore, the reduction in tension in international relations can only be permanent and transform itself into a real trend in the conduct of these relations if all peoples and states participate in the construction of stable international relations. For positive developments in international relations to be promoted and exert a real influence on reducing international tension, determined activity on the part the entire international community is necessary. The future also depends on the endurance and struggle of the peoples and nations, who in their joint strength have shown themselves able to face up to imperialist policies and preserve peace and international security.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 27 Jan-3 Feb

AU0302204589

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 27 January-3 February reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Foto Cami, AWP CC (Central Committee) Politburo member and secretary; and Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 31 January a jubilee meeting in Tirana on the 35th anniversary of the publication of the first issue of RRUGA E PARTISE, theoretical organ of the AWP CC. (1900 GMT 31 January)

Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, attended on 27 January a jubilee meeting in Tirana on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the literary journal NENDORI. (1900 GMT 27 January)

Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary; and Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 31 January a jubilee meeting in Tirana on the 35th anniversary of the journal RRUGA E PARTISE. (1900 GMT 31 January)

Manush Myftiu, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the celebrations on the occasion of 45th anniversary of the Sixth Partisan Assault Brigade in Permet on 29 January. (1900 GMT 29 January)

Foto Cami, AWP CC POlitburo member and secretary, attended on 3 February the opening of a book fair in Tirana. (1900 GMT 3 February)

Pact Defense Ministers' Declaration Praised

AU3001154089 Sofia BTA in English
1351 GMT 30 Jan 89

["A Realistic Basis For Negotiations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 30 (BTA political observer Aleksandur Vladkov)—The Warsaw Treaty countries are ready for operative and constructive negotiations in Vienna for reduction of the military forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals and for expansion of the measures for confidence and security in Europe. Such is the basic conclusion drawn from the declaration of the Committee of the Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Treaty-member states published today. In compliance with the mandate of the future negotiations the socialist countries lay the stress on the need to eliminate the existing assymetries in militarization and the reduction of the military potential to the level, corresponding solely to the needs of defense. This readiness is not expressed in words alone. It is backed by concrete initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty states, including Bulgaria, which has already declared a significant unilateral cut of its military budget, armed forces and arms. This step is a contribution not only to the reduction on the level of a general juxtaposition in Europe but also to the solution of this problem on a regional scale, an aim which was particularly stressed upon in today's declaration.

Publishing data on the numerical strength and the individual kinds of weapons of the two military-political alliances in Europe and the adjacent sea and ocean areas, the Committee of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Treaty countries stresses once again that the military forces are an united body and only their collective analysis allows to evaluate the real correlation of forces. Such kind of approach is imperative: On the one hand it will stop the attempts for a selective and bias presentation of the reality and on the other hand it will create a realistic basis for the forthcoming important negotiations in the Austrian capital. This does not change their mandate whatsoever. On the contrary, it draws the two sides closer to the sought aim: a wise defensive sufficiency of armaments.

Committee Discusses Border Troops Social Issues

AU0102103689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Jan 89 p 6

[Vasil Popov report: "More Care for the Border Troops"]

[Text] On 31 January the leadership of the Committee on State and People's Control discussed the results of the complex inspection of the implementation of the social programs of the Border Troops and the Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. A profound analysis was made of the state of the standard of living of the troops and their families, as well as of the command's activities related to improving the standard of living. The new party approaches and premises, springing from the July Concept on fundamentally renewing all areas of social life in Bulgaria, serve as criteria in this area. It was pointed out that during the decades of socialist construction the troops developed as loyal guards of the state borders and the people's achievements, and that they are making constant efforts to strengthen public order and security.

Positive changes in everyday life of many of the units have been implemented with the active assistance and care of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Social issues of great importance in developing the troops' collectives and educating the soldiers as socially active persons, have been resolved.

However, certain weaknesses and problems, mainly in the Border Troops units, emerge against this background:

—The creation of a rational regime of labor, rest, and leisure for fully restoring the Border Troops' forces and energy has been significantly hampered by the special conditions and specific characteristics of service along the border.

—Shortcomings in the systematic satisfaction of the real needs of a part of the troops' collectives have been noted.

—The housing problem of the Border Troops is one of an especially acute character. The maintenance of apartments and living quarters in the camps is difficult. Providing housing for personnel who retire in settlements of their choice is an issue that has not been resolved, and there are not enough permits for vacationing in the sea resorts during the high season.

—Certain issues related to living conditions of the troops' families and the objective difficulties in the professional development and social life of the spouses, and in raising, training, and educating their children.

A decision was adopted. It proposes specific measures for overcoming the difficulties that have emerged in implementing the troops' social programs. It was envisaged to quickly search for additional possibilities and resources of consistently and reliably resolving the vital social problems of the soldiers and their families.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the commands of the Border Troops and the Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Government Seizes Buildings for Health, Education

AU0302193989 Sofia BTA in English
1851 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—As it was announced, by a resolution of the Council of Ministers as from November last year villas, rest houses, representative

and other projects managed by the socialist organizations, built illegally and inexpediently with means deviated from their destination, are taken away. Alongside with that, a number of buildings of ministries and other institutions, economic and social organizations are not used to their full capacities, while at the same time they are suitable to meet some of the urgent social needs of the population.

In order to ensure the efficient use of these buildings and to continue the present initiatives for improvement of the material base of health care services of the population, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution according to which the buildings which are not used to their full capacities are also taken away. 114 projects are given for the needs of health care, 50 for the needs of education, 34 for repose of the working people, 37 for tourism and 6 for other social needs.

For the improvement of health care services, mainly administrative buildings are being given, which would be adjusted and used for polyclinics, hospital wards, rehabilitation centres, first aid medical bases, dispensaries, sanatorial bases, etc. For the purposes of national education are given buildings for schools, hostels, kindergartens, pioneers homes, libraries, etc. Villas, representative homes and other buildings suitable for repose which have been constructed but were not used to their full capacities were given to the Central Union of the Bulgarian Trade Unions to organize and ensure their year-round use for the needs of repose of the working people. Chalets and other buildings in the mountainous and other places, suitable for tourism are offered for management to the Bulgarian Tourist Union. Buildings for old people homes and boarding houses, for social patronage, etc are also offered.

Joint International Company Formed With UK

AU0202184689 Sofia BTA in English
1648 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—"Chimex International" is a new Bulgaro-British company set up by the Bulgarian "Khiminvest" and the British "Chemflake International Ltd.", Scotland. Based on original technology supplied by the British firm, the joint company will produce insulation materials made wide use of in the chemical industry, metallurgy, power engineering, shipbuilding and the food industry. The technology is relatively unknown to the world—it has been introduced only in Great Britain and the United States. Bulgaria is the third country to start using it.

"There are excellent possibilities of developing markets—in Bulgaria, the CMEA member-countries, the Middle and the Far East", said Mr Aleksandur Gulabov and Meridzhan Gasparyan of "Khiminvest" in an interview for the IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT weekly.

According to them, the newly established company epitomizes in miniature the requirements laid down in the economic activity decree, adopted recently by the State Council of Bulgaria. "Chimex International" will attract investments, carry on cooperation with other parents, transfer technologies and gain markets. Such insulation-production technology is necessary for Bulgarian industry. Most of the facilities used in the chemical industry, mechanical engineering, the food industry, metallurgy and shipbuilding operate in an aggressive medium and wear out quickly, although they are made of special steels. The Scottish technology makes it possible to prolong their life. The new type of insulation will be used for coating surfaces which come into contact with the aggressive medium and for repairing those which have been already damaged. [passage omitted]

The capital stock of "Chimex International" is 450,000 pounds sterling, or the share of each partner is 225,000 pounds. The company is expected to turn out produce of 3 million pounds' worth, the profit being about 1.3 million. [passage omitted]

Chief of Staff Notes CSLA Troop, Arms Cuts

AU0402180689

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 February on page 1 carries a 1,500-word report by its correspondents Vladimir Palan, Stanislav Stibor, and Josef Vlcek entitled "An Act of Goodwill for Disarmament." The report gives an account of the news conference given by Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA], in Prague on 31 January, at which he discussed "two significant documents": the statement on troop and arms reductions and organizational changes in the CSLA (published on 28 January), and the Warsaw Pact study on the correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO troops and arms in Europe (published on 30 January). Vacek's news conference is also the subject of a 1,200-word report by Vit Suchy, entitled "Equal Security for All," carried by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 February, on pages 1 and 2.

This RUDE PRAVO report contains additional information on planned changes in the CSLA. The first relevant passage reads: "Asked by RUDE PRAVO what measures the CSLA command intends to take in our Armed Forces so that their structure assumes an undisputed defensive nature, Miroslav Vacek replied that a whole package of measures is involved. They concern, above all, a marked reduction in the number of tanks in all-purpose Army organizational structures—that is, in motorized infantry and tank divisions, which form the backbone of the CSLA's combat strength. On the other hand, we want to reinforce our units by increasing the number of antitank weapons. Apart from this, it appears to be advantageous to reinforce the Army's engineering units. 'In other words, what is at issue are primarily military operations whose aim is to reinforce the resistance potential of defense.' He went on to say that one could find many other steps that accentuate the defensive character of our troops."

The second relevant passage reads: "As for the issue of reducing the number of soldiers in combat units by 12,000 men, Miroslav Vacek said that, in our case, this involves transfers from combat units to Army construction organizations. In other words, it is not a reduction in the form of layoffs or nonconscription into military service. The reduction concerns both professional soldiers and conscripts, mostly collectives disengaged from the three all-purpose Army divisions cited [in the statement on CSSR arms reduction measures published on 28 January] whose equipment will be stored and mothballed in depots. Additional soldiers will be transferred to Army construction organizations from our Army's support units. The Army's own construction organizations will be used to assist the national economy. This assistance will be worth several billion korunas for a 5-year period.

"When he spoke about eliminating weapons (tanks, armored personnel carriers, and so forth), he said that the engines and other components of tanks can be used for spare parts. It needs to be said that this elimination will not concern outdated types, but rather tanks of the T-54 and T-55 series, which means that their components can be used as spare parts for those tanks of these series still remaining in service. It will also be possible, for instance, to equip some tanks with bulldozer attachments and use them in cleaning up industrial accidents. It is quite possible that organizations will come up with yet other ideas for their use. It is obvious, however, that these tanks cannot remain tanks, that their turrets, gun barrels, and other weapons systems must be scrapped.

"The same is true of armored personnel carriers. As for aircraft, there is a possibility of using aggregates [agregaty] and some other components for spare parts, because here, too, the reduction concerns types that remain in service—MiG 21's and Su-7B's."

The Bratislava PRAVDA report on the news conference includes passages in which Vacek comes out against a reduction of military service, and one promising the disclosure of details on Czechoslovakia's military budget.

The first passage reads: "Replying to journalists' questions, Col Gen Vacek said that, despite the existence of a more favorable political atmosphere in Europe, a real danger of war persists. Our Army, which stands on the Warsaw Pact's defensive front line, must respect this reality. This is also one of the reasons why, for the time being, we cannot reduce military service in our country. Raising the quality of the troops' training and strengthening cooperation with the other armed forces making up the socialist states' defensive alliance in Europe continue to rank among the CSLA's paramount tasks. Therein also lies the guarantee that the adoption of the new measures will not result in the CSLA being weakened."

The second passage reads: "In each country—and this applies to both socialist and capitalist countries—the resources appropriated for the defense budget are calculated in different ways. This is why everyone counts according to his own criteria. A mechanical comparison is impossible. He expressed the conviction, however, that, beginning next year, it will be possible to publish these expenditures in greater detail in our country, too."

Vacek on Timetable for Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU0602163589

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 February on page 1 carries a 700-word report by Josef Nyvlt entitled "Initial Steps To Implement the Czechoslovak Initiative To Establish a Zone of Trust." The report gives an account of the news conference given by Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, in Prague on 3

February, concerning measures implemented in Czechoslovakia to "reduce the level of military confrontation along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states."

The RUDE PRAVO passage on Vacek's remarks about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia reads: "Replying to journalists' questions, M. Vacek stated, inter alia, that four independent Soviet formations will be withdrawn from the CSSR in 1989: one airborne assault battalion [uderne vysadkovy prapor], one engineers battalion, one chemical-weapons protection battalion, and one motor transport battalion. Besides this, two divisions of the Central Group of Soviet Forces [stationed in Czechoslovakia] will be reorganized so that they adopt a more pronouncedly defensive character. On the whole, 1,500 soldiers, 192 tanks, and 20 combat aircraft will be withdrawn from the CSSR this year.

"In 1990 one Soviet tank division will be withdrawn and other units will undergo organizational changes with the aim of reinforcing their defensive character. An additional 3,800 soldiers and 516 tanks will be withdrawn.

"In other words, one Soviet tank division and four independent battalions totaling 5,300 men, 708 tanks, and 20 combat aircraft will be withdrawn from the CSSR in the 1989-90 period."

Jozef Lenart Receives DPRK Envoy 2 Feb

AU0602155789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Kim Kwang-sop, DPRK ambassador to the CSSR, on Thursday [2 February].

During their talks, they discussed topical questions of relations between the CPCZ and the Workers Party of Korea and between the CSSR and the DPRK. They also assessed the possibilities of their further comprehensive development. Jozef Lenart expressed his appreciation of the DPRK's constructive activity in the interest of lowering tension in Korea and in its peaceful unification.

Report Details 1988 Plan Fulfillment

AU0102060189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

["Report by the Federal Statistical Office on the Development of the National Economy and the Fulfillment of the CSSR State Plan for 1988; National Income Increased Almost 3 Percent Last Year"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)— On 25 January, the Federal Statistical Office issued a report on the development of the national economy and the fulfillment of the CSSR state plan for 1988. We publish the full text of the report:

The country's economic potential increased further in 1988, and development in some sectors of the economy improved. In principle, the program of social policy adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress is being realized.

According to estimates, the dynamics of the growth of the created national income rose almost 3 percent, thus exceeding the rate envisaged by the annual plan.

The overall volume of production corresponded to the projections of the plan. However, at the same time, imbalanced relations in the basic aspects of its utilization continued. Material resources were not created in the range and quality corresponding to the needs of the population and the economy, a matter which intensified problems in supplier-user relations, in capital construction, and in foreign trade. Particularly noticeable disproportions appeared on the domestic market, where the developments in the supply of, in particular, industrial goods and services did not meet the growth of demand influenced by the above-plan increase in the population's monetary incomes.

Partial improvement was registered in the sphere of efficiency. The share of the increased labor productivity in the increment of the created national income increased and fully ensured the growth of industrial production. The share of material costs in output approximately reached the level set by the plan, while the share of wages and financial costs, compared with the plan, was higher. Therefore, the overall costs decreased to a lesser extent than the plan envisaged.

The efficiency of production assets remained low. Reserves of raw and other materials and inventories of finished products increased further. At the same time, the number of products in short supply increased. The reserves and inventories immobilize considerable resources and are one of the causes of the high insolvency of a number of enterprises.

The volume of realized investment work and deliveries noticeably deviated from the projections of the plan, above all, because of the high overfulfillment of the plan in agriculture. Despite the reduction of the number of projects under construction, the volume of resources immobilized in capital construction remains high.

The effectiveness of foreign trade did not increase. The terms of trade improved, but this was mainly due to lower prices of imported raw materials. Higher efficiency in Czechoslovak exports, especially of engineering products, was not achieved.

The basic problems of the Czechoslovak economy include the fact that despite some positive results, the efficiency of applying scientific-technical progress in practice remains too low. This, in particular, resulted in a low valorization of raw and other materials and energy in production, and in an inadequate improvement in the quality and technological standard of production.

The personal consumption of the population rose about 4.5 percent, which is substantially more than the figure envisaged by the plan and more than the increase in created resources. The social consumption of the population was developing as planned. Further important measures were realized in the sphere of social security, oriented toward more efficient assistance to young couples and toward strengthening the merit principle when determining the amount of old-age pensions.

Figures for housing construction fulfilled 94 percent of the plan. Shortcomings continued in respect to smoothly completing the construction of apartments and ensuring the corresponding civic and technical facilities in housing developments.

The construction of projects connected with environmental protection continued. With some of them, the planned tasks were not fulfilled and they went into operation behind schedule.

In the course of the year the CSSR Government adopted a number of measures aimed at resolving practical economic problems, especially regulating capital construction, reducing the volume of reserves, channeling wage development, solving some problems on the domestic market, and strengthening the balance of foreign trade. The first important steps toward the restructuring of the economic mechanism were taken together with this.

Since 1 January 1989, a total of 1,448 newly established state enterprises have been in operation, employing more than 3.1 million workers [pracovnici]. The sphere of central bodies was restructured, and the number of its employees decreased by 3,500—almost 20 percent. This created prerequisites for implementing the set task to reduce the number of employees of central bodies by 30 June 1989.

Compared with the others, organizations operating under the conditions of the comprehensive experiment aimed at increasing the independence and responsibility for effective development have not yet achieved noticeably better results. Partial improvement was registered in developing material and wage intensiveness in production, and in the generation of profits. The standard of management of these organizations is greatly influenced by the strong effects of the existing economic mechanism.

Science and Technology

The use of scientific-technical potential in production is still at a low level. Despite some positive results, the quality and the technical-economic standard of industrial products have not improved to the necessary extent. The introduction of new technologies is making slow headway, and the growth of labor productivity and the reduction in the consumption of energy and raw and other materials do not correspond to the needs of the economy's intensive development.

More than a thousand completed research projects were implemented in production and application. The following were introduced: welding technology by means of robots; technology for acquiring precious metals from waste materials; technology facilitating coal extraction in difficult geological conditions in mines; production of new types of garment, upholstery, and industrial textiles; and methods leading to more economical milk and meat production.

Production of new products increased (by 8.9 percent), but their proportion of the overall production is still low (18 percent). At the same time, less than one-third of them can be rated as products of high technological-economic quality. The state testing institutes awarded only 130 products the highest- quality certification of the "Q" rating. Of these, for example, 12 were in the engineering industry, 4 in the metal-working industry, 16 in the chemical and rubber-asbestos industry, 18 in the garment industry, 59 in the textile industry, and 8 in the leather-processing industry.

Even though relative savings of 3.1 million tonnes of standard fuels and 490,000 tonnes of ferrous and 14,000 tonnes of nonferrous metals were achieved within the framework of the state target programs and the planned tasks were achieved, the Czechoslovak economy is still far too energy- and material-intensive. The number of staffers in the research and development base of scientific institutes and the enterprise sphere reached 194,000 and, compared with the previous year, rose 0.9 percent. Spending for this sector remained the same as last year—Kcs24 billion.

A total of 55 licenses were bought, and 44 were sold abroad. The payments abroad arising from all valid licensing agreements amounted to about Kcs730 million, all charges paid, and revenues from the sales of licenses totaled Kcs100 million, all charges paid.

A total of 7,700 patents were registered in 1988. Compared with the preceding year, this total dropped 13 percent. The number of applications to register improvement proposals also decreased.

The implementation of tasks within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000 continued in 1988.

For example, the CSSR successfully concluded the development of technology for the production of composite materials of the skeleton [skeletoveho] type, of biotechnological methods for the diagnosis and therapy of farm animals, and of an optoelectronic telemeter. Solutions to individual tasks proceed slowly, and they are going into production behind schedule. To date, the contributions of the program's implementation have not yet made themselves sufficiently felt in the CSSR economy.

Industry

Industrial production in centrally planned industry increased 2 percent. The planned volume of gross production was fulfilled, and the planned production of goods exceeded.

In the course of ensuring the planned production tasks considerable structural deviations appeared at the branch level as well as in the production of individual enterprises. About one-fourth of all enterprises fell short of their planned tasks by failing to produce goods worth some Kcs8 billion.

Compared with the previous year, the quality indicators improved, but the projections of the plan were not fulfilled to the full extent.

The share of aggregate costs in the volume of output declined 0.8 percent, whereas the plan envisaged a 1.4 percent decline. The level of the aggregate costs was unfavorably affected, in particular, by wage and financial costs, whereas the development of the material costs was in accordance with the plan.

The volume of the adjusted net output rose 4.6 percent, and the plan was fulfilled. One-fourth of all enterprises did not fulfill their planned tasks. The planned volume of profits was fulfilled.

Labor productivity grew faster than the plan envisaged and fully ensured the growth of production. The planned relation between the development of productivity (from gross production) and the average wages was not maintained due to a higher-than-planned growth in average wages.

The number of workers in industry remained the same as last year--2,717,000. The average monthly wage was Kcs3,260, an increase of Kcs64 compared with the previous year—that is, a 2-percent increase. The utilization of the usable fund of the working time (91 percent) as well as the shift-intensity coefficient (1,329) remained basically the same as last year.

The decrease in the level of the utilization of production assets continued. The effectiveness of the capital assets further decreased, by 2.5 percent. The desired improvement in the development of reserves, which increased roughly by Kcs10 billion, whereas the plan envisaged their reduction, also did not occur. The greatest growth of reserves was registered in engineering organizations.

An increase in production was noted in all sectors of industry with the exception of the production of fuels, for which the plan envisaged a decrease. The highest production increase was achieved in the electrotechnical sector (especially in the production of microelectronic circuits) and in the glass, porcelain, and ceramics industries. The production of electricity by nuclear power plants increased, and its share of total production reached 26.6 percent.

The growth of the share of less energy-intensive production is positive. For example, in the metallurgy industry the modernization of the technical base continued, and the production of steel in oxygen convertors and by means of continuous casting increased more quickly. Aluminum production decreased 2.9 percent.

The Development of Basic Indicators in Selected Branches (Planning Groups) of Centrally Planned Industry in 1988 (a)
Column 1) Adjusted Net Output as Percentage of Plan Fulfillment

2) Adjusted Net Output in 1988 as Percentage of 1987

3) Gross Production as Percentage of Plan Fulfillment

4) Gross Production in 1988 as Percentage of 1987

5) Number of Employees in 1988 as Percentage of 1987

6) Labor Productivity Per Employee in 1988 as Percentage of 1987—(b)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Centrally Planned Industry (Including Industry Run By Regional National Committees of this:	100.3	104.6	100.7	102.0	100.0	104.6
Coal Extraction	102.6	99.2	103.5	99.5	101.3	98.0
Generation of Heat and Electricity	102.5	103.8	99.1	101.6	101.3	102.5
Metallurgy including ore extraction	102.8	104.6	101.7	101.3	99.6	105.0
Engineering, total including heavy	100.2	101.4	100.9	101.0	99.9	101.5
general	97.6	101.6	100.1	101.6	99.8	101.9
electrotechnical industry	100.3	109.9	102.0	107.2	100.7	109.1
Chemical industry, total	100.2	107.0	100.6	101.9	99.8	107.2
Light industry, total	101.3	105.5	101.3	102.6	99.6	105.9
of this: glass, ceramics, porcelain industry	100.7	109.6	100.3	106.1	100.3	109.3
textile industry	100.7	103.6	101.5	102.3	99.3	104.3
garment industry	101.0	104.9	100.5	101.9	99.5	105.5
leather-processing and footwear industries	103.0	107.8	101.7	101.0	100.0	107.8
printing industry	101.9	102.9	102.0	103.5	99.3	103.6
Construction materials industry	100.1	106.7	102.5	103.8	100.2	106.5

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Centrally Planned Industry (Including Industry Run By Regional National Committees of this:	100.3	104.6	100.7	102.0	100.0	104.6
Coal Extraction	102.6	99.2	103.5	99.5	101.3	98.0
Wood-processing industry	99.3	107.9	100.7	102.7	99.4	108.5

—a) The year 1988 had 2 working days less than 1987 b) From adjusted net output

The total value of sales in industry increased 1.4 percent. On the whole, plans were exceeded in all main aspects of deliveries. However, some enterprises did not fulfill their plans. The structure of deliveries did not always develop in harmony with the plan and the needs of users. A long-lasting discrepancy between supply and demand appeared with a number of products, especially in the engineering, electrotechnical, wood-processing, garment, footwear, and medical supply industries.

Manufacture of Important Industrial Products in Centrally Planned Industry—Column 1) Unit of Measurement

2) Actual in 1988

3) Plan Fulfillment in Percent

4) 1988 as a Percentage of 1987—

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Bituminous coal	thousands of tonnes	22,504	100.7	99.1
Brown coal including lignite	"	97,999	100.3	97.7
Electricity	millions of kwh	87,424	99.3	101.9
Raw iron	thousands of tonnes	9,706	99.9	99.2
Raw steel	"	15,380	100.1	99.8
Rolled material	"	11,420	102.1	100.5
Cement	"	10,973.5	101.8	105.8
Lime	"	3,310.7	101.5	102.3
Nitrogen fertilizers	nitrogen	596.4	120.9	100.0
Phosphoric fertilizers	"	313	99.4	113.0
Plastic materials	"	1,191.9	101.4	103.6
Chemical fibers	"	204	100.4	103.8
Detergents	tonnes	93,184	102.0	102.5
Passenger cars and vans	units	163,834	98.4	95.1
of this: passenger cars	"	159,160	98.8	94.3
Two-wheel motor vehicles	"	182,808	94.2	97.0
Bicycles	"	667,715	98.7	97.0
Trucks	"	50,498	95.8	98.6
Integrated microelectric circuits	Kcs millions	3,570	100.5	131.8
Computers including microcomputers	units	32,474	81.0	130.8
Metal-working machine tools	Kcs millions	5,381.1	98.6	105.2
Forming machinery, total	Kcs millions	1,638.4	96.8	93.5
Agriculture machinery and equipment, including spare parts	"	3,861.3	100.1	104.3
Tractors, wheel and tracked	units	37,348	99.3	96.5
Household washing machines thousands	units	462.7	98.5	100.6
of this: automatic	"	208.1	97.0	98.0
Refrigerators and freezers for households	"	550.5	102.7	104.7
of this: freezers	"	225.3	95.3	113.8
Television sets total	"	481.9	102.3	95.1
of this: color	"	335.8	104.0	118.4
Furniture	Kcs millions	8,624.7	98.8	102.8
Utility and decorative china	"	704.5	99.5	102.3
Paper and cartons	thousands of tonnes	974	99.6	99.1
Cotton textiles	millions meters	591.2	101.0	98.6
Underwear made of fabrics	thousands units	47,189	95.0	96.2
Garments made of fabrics and nonwoven textiles	"	34,275	97.3	101.0
Hosiery thousands pairs	"	193,941	100.3	99.7
Footwear total	"	105,305	101.5	100.0
of this: leather	"	50,169	99.4	103.0
textile	"	30,413	103.6	97.5

Agricultural and Food Complex

The gross agricultural production increased 2.2 percent, and the plan was fulfilled. Plant production increased 3.2 percent and animal production 1.5 percent. In plant production, favorable results were achieved in the harvests of cereals and rape. Because of extensive plowing under in the spring and because of losses during gathering and processing, the planned tasks for sugar beets were not fulfilled. Hectare Yields and Harvests of Selected Crops

crop	per hectare yield in tonnes			harvest in thousands of tonnes			percentage of plan fulfillment in 1988
	Average 1981-85	1987	Estimate 1988	Average 1981-85	1987	Estimate 1988	
Grain crops total, of this:	4.31	4.70	4.76	10,893	11,771	11,816	103.2
wheat	4.68	5.08	5.26	5,389	6,154	6,553	117.6
corn for grain	4.87	5.64	5.04	884	1,160	956	87.6
pulse	2.13	2.20	2.43	186	224	251	97.6
rape	2.38	2.64	2.91	255	337	380	114.2
potatoes	18.57	17.19	20.19	3,591	3,072	3,582	95.5
perennial crops	8.67	9.22	7.49	5,896	6,625	5,146	70.8
vegetables	-	-	-	1,117	1,196	1,174	91.7
fruit	-	-	-	576	457	609	87.6

By 31 December 1988, the plan for cereals procurement for the state reserve funds was fulfilled 101.2 percent, for rape 114.9 percent, and for sugar beets 71 percent.

The planned tasks in animal production were exceeded as a result of the fulfillment of the plan for farm animals' yields and partly because of their greater numbers. Cows' annual average milk yield was 3,777 liters (in 1987 it was 3,741 liters), and one laying hen produced an average of 247 eggs a year. Compared with the previous year, better results were achieved in the fattening of calves and piglets. The intensiveness of the fattening of cattle and pigs decreased slightly.

The procurement plan of all main animal products—with the exception of milk and eggs—was fulfilled. The procurement of milk was affected, in particular, by the stricter demands on quality and, also, by the lower number of milking cows.

The small-scale growers' and breeders' share in the production of animals for slaughter, including poultry, was 11.5 percent, in the production of vegetables 48 percent, and of fruit 66 percent.

The average wages on state farms rose by 2 percent to Kcs3,150. The level of comparable remuneration of employees in united agricultural cooperatives increased by 3.6 percent to Kcs3,355. The growth of labor productivity corresponded to those increases.

Food industry production rose 0.9 percent, while the plan envisaged a 2.6 percent growth. Meat production increased 1.1 percent, the production of edible vegetable fats rose by 4.1 percent, cheese by 2.9 percent, beer by 2 percent, and nonalcoholic beverages by 10 percent. The volume of sugar, pasteurized milk, and butter production decreased.

Deliveries by the food industry to the domestic market rose 2.8 percent. Although the supply of the domestic market with basic food products was smooth, we did not succeed in more substantially increasing their range and ensuring their availability to the entire retail network throughout the year. The distribution of products was impaired by local problems in some places.

Forestry

Timber extraction totaled 18.1 million cubic meters. Windfall timber accounted for 42 percent of the total extraction. The plan for timber extraction and timber deliveries was fulfilled. A total of 51,200 hectares were reforested, and the reforestation plan was exceeded. At the same time, areas with varying degrees of damage (at the end of the year more than 50 percent of the area in the Czech SR, and more than 30 percent of the area in the Slovak SR) are being gradually reforested with trees resistant to unfavorable conditions.

Water Conservancy

Deliveries of drinking water increased by 28 million cubic meters and totalled 1,350 million cubic meters. The number of inhabitants supplied with water from public mains increased to 78.9 percent. Also, the number of citizens living in homes connected to public sewage system increased to 64.5 percent. The share of treated waste water discharged from the public sewerage system into rivers and streams remained at last year's level (75 percent). Putting the Starina reservoir into operation has created conditions for a better drinking water supply for the East Slovak region, especially the Kosice area.

Construction

Construction enterprises carried out building work valued at Kcs97.7 billion with their own employees, that is, 0.3 percent less than in 1987. The state plan had reckoned with a greater drop. Because of the favorable weather, the growth achieved at the beginning of the year was higher than planned. As of April, the dynamism was slowing down, and by the end of the year construction production was lower than in the preceding year. At the same time the volume of adjusted net output rose only 0.1 percent, while the plan had reckoned with a 2.2 percent growth. There was considerable unevenness with regard to plan fulfillment by individual enterprises. About one-third of construction enterprises did not fulfill their plans.

Although the volume of construction works was exceeded on aggregate, there was a continuing lack of balance in the structure. The volume of works in comprehensive housing construction was not sufficiently ensured. Also, repairs and the maintenance of the housing stock and civic facilities were not fully ensured.

Important projects were completed slowly. For example, in the case of half of the 13 obligatory facilities that were not completed, the arrears were caused by delay in preparation of the projects and the shortage of construction capacities.

Construction enterprises did not fulfill the plan for housing construction. Construction organizations are 12,176 apartments behind, and fulfilled their tasks in the modernization of the housing fund by only 69.2 percent.

The construction production efficiency was unfavorably affected by the slow reduction of production input. The tasks in the development of overhead and material costs were not completely fulfilled. The share of overall costs in output increased to almost 93 percent (the plan envisaged 92.6 percent). Reserves in the construction sector rose by Kcs0.5 billion, whereas the plan envisaged a reduction. The effectiveness of production assets decreased further by about 5 percent.

The shortage of manpower, especially of workers, persisted in some construction professions. Construction enterprises employed 551,000 persons, and compared with the preceding year, their number dropped by 4,000, that is, 0.8 percent. Whereas the number of technical-economic employees increased, the number of construction workers dropped almost 2 percent, that is, by roughly 5,000 persons.

Labor productivity calculated on the basis of construction work carried out by one's own workers increased 0.5 percent, and labor productivity measured in terms of adjusted net output increased 0.9 percent.

The average wages of employees of construction enterprises, compared with the preceding year, rose 1.7 percent and reached Kcs3,395, that is, Kcs57 more than in 1987. The state plan envisaged a 1-percent increase in average wages. As in the preceding years, wages increased faster than labor productivity.

Transportation and Communications

Public freight transportation carried 649.4 million tonnes of cargo, the volume of cargo increased 1 percent. The transport requirements of the national economy rose slightly, whereas the plan had envisaged a decrease. The state transportation plan was fulfilled 97.4 percent. The Czechoslovak State Railroads (CSD) accounted for 45.4 percent of this transportation, the Czechoslovak Vehicle Transportation (CSAD) for 52.3 percent, and the river transportation for 2.3 percent.

The CSD carried 294.7 million tonnes of freight, the state plan being fulfilled 100 percent.

The CSAD carried 339.5 million tonnes of freight, the state plan being fulfilled 95.1 percent. The CSAD consumed a total of 814.9 million liters of fuel, the consumption in freight transportation was 36.04 liters per 1,000 tonne kilometers (index 98).

The river transportation system had good navigation conditions and carried 15.2 million tonnes of freight, which is 6.6 percent more than in 1987. Of the total freight carried, steam coal accounted for 19.8 percent.

The public passenger transportation system in 1988 carried a total of 2,753.2 million persons and compared with 1987, the overall number of passengers rose by 3.5 million persons. The CSAD carried 2,342.5 million persons, the CSD 410 million persons, and the air transportation carried 1.4 million persons, of which 323,000 were passengers on domestic routes.

The Prague subway carried 446 million persons, that is, 3.4 percent more than in 1987. On the average, more than 1.2 million persons travelled by subway daily.

Considerable shortcomings persist in the transportation of the working people to work, especially in the city mass transit system. The cleanliness of vehicles is not improving. Travel comfort is low, especially railroad travel.

The planned tasks for the development of communications were fulfilled. The West Slovakia-Nitra radio transmitter was put into operation. The degree to which the republic was covered by television signal was extended and improved. By putting two more television transmitters into operation, the second channel now reaches about 76 percent of the country. The possibility of receiving the central program of USSR television was increased, a further five relay stations having been put into operation.

A total of 3,980,000 telephones were in use on 31 December 1988. During the year 73,500 telephones were connected in households, and their number increased 5.2 percent. There were 25.6 telephones per 100 population. However, the demand for telephones was not fully met and there are still 279,600 applicants on the waiting list. An additional seven telephone exchanges were fully automated; currently 75.8 percent of exchanges are automated. A total of 99.1 percent of telephone subscribers are connected to automated exchanges.

The "Postfax" faxing service, which is used both in intrastate and international communications, was introduced in 22 large cities (in Prague and Bratislava and in the regional and some district cities). Teletext transmission started, its content was gradually improved, and the number of on-air hours increased.

During 1988, postmen delivered 1,548.1 million pieces of mail, which constitutes a 2.2 percent increase. The Postal Newspaper Service delivered 4 percent more newspapers and periodicals than in 1987.

Foreign Trade

In foreign trade we did not succeed in overcoming the unfavorable trends of the past years. Neither the export performance of the Czechoslovak economy nor the profitability of Czechoslovak exports increased at the envisaged pace.

Total foreign trade turnover rose 3.5 percent, with the socialist states 2.7 percent, and with the nonsocialist states 6.5 percent. The tasks of the state plan vis-a-vis the socialist countries were fulfilled in respect of both exports and imports. The planned general export tasks vis-a-vis the nonsocialist countries were fulfilled, but the plan for engineering exports was not fulfilled. The growth of trade with the industrially developed capitalist states was faster, while with the developing countries it was slower.

Development of Foreign Trade

(In current prices, all charges paid up to the border of the delivering state)—

	1988 as a percentage compared with 1987		1988 as a percentage compared with 1987
Exports, total of this	105.5	Imports, total of this	101.5
to socialist countries	105.1	from socialist countries	100.2
to nonsocialist countries	106.9	from nonsocialist countries	106.1

The volume of foreign trade with the CEMA member states rose 2.4 percent. The socialist countries' share of foreign trade turnover was 79.1 percent, and that of the Soviet Union 43.5 percent.

Exports on the basis of specialization and cooperation agreements accounted for 32.2 percent of the overall exports to the socialist countries. Considerable untapped potential still exists concerning making use of the advantages of specialization and cooperation.

Direct relations between Czechoslovak organizations and partners abroad, especially in the Soviet Union, have begun developing more extensively, but the results of such cooperation have not yet manifested themselves fully. Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises have concluded more than 360 agreements on direct relations. A total of 15 enterprises with foreign capital participation were registered in the CSSR at the end of 1988.

Capital Construction

Undesirable deviations from the projections of the plan persist in the sphere of capital construction. Investment work and deliveries carried out in the national economy (excluding the "Z" program [community self-help program] and private investment) amounted to Kcs172.3 billion, which is 4.5 percent more than in the preceding year. The state plan had projected a 2.4 percent drop. At the same time the volume of construction work, which—according to the plan—should have decreased more than 5 percent, increased 2 percent. Deliveries of machinery and equipment, which were to increase by less than 1 percent, increased 7 percent. High dynamism was registered particularly with deliveries of machinery and equipment not included in projects' budgets.

Resources spent on modernization and reconstruction were not as large as would have been necessary, even though they increased slightly.

In the production sphere, the greatest resources were invested in agriculture (Kcs24.9 billion—the plan provided for Kcs16.3 billion), engineering (Kcs24.8 billion), and fuel and energy (Kcs20.2 billion). In the nonproduction sphere, the greatest resources were invested in housing construction (Kcs20.7 billion). In accordance with plan projections, the volume of investment in the sphere of fuels decreased, while it increased in the processing industry, especially in the engineering, electrotechnical, chemical, and wood-processing industries.

Delays in putting capacities into operation were a persisting problem. Whereas 90 capacities were to have gone into operation as an obligatory task of the plan, only 80 did. Among them were, for example, the following production capacities: the meat combines in Olomouc and Lucenec, the malt plant of the West Bohemian Breweries in Plzen, the rolling mill for iron sheets in Frydek-Mistek, the coach-building shops of the AZNP enterprise in Mlada Boleslav, the plating plant in Tesla Jihlava, the conclusion of the construction of the industrial automation works in Presov, the Float-2 production line in Sklotas Teplice, the continuous tank in the Desna plant of the Jablonec Glass Works, the rolling line in Technoplast Chropyne, and the ensuring of extraction in the Chabarovice and the Maxim Gorkiy open cast mines.

Furthermore, for example, the following nonproduction capacities went into operation: the central sewage plant in Bratislava (second project), sewerage and a sewage plant in Pec pod Snezkou, the pumping station for the water main in Spindleruv Mlyn, a further—4.9 km long—section of the Prague subway's B-line, the Antonin Zapotocky Bridge in Prague, the conclusion of the construction of the health center in Otrokovice, as well as of nursing homes in Ceska Lipa and in Decin, and of the House of Pioneers and Youth in Bratislava.

The following were not put into operation: the production line for axles in the Bratislava automobile works, the line for producing gearboxes in Zetor Brno, the production line for tractor seats in Agrozet Svratka, the new section of the thermal plant in Vihorlat Snina, and the open-air school in Rychnov nad Kneznou.

Some capacities that went into operation are not achieving the projected technical-economic parameters.

Standard of Living

The personal consumption of the population grew faster than the plan envisaged. Public consumption increased in line with the planned projections. However, the needs of the population were not sufficiently satisfied, especially as regards the range and the quality of goods and the standard of services.

The growth of the population's personal earnings was substantially faster than the plan envisaged, and their volume increased 4.2 percent to Kcs462.8 billion. Incomes from wages rose 3 percent. The average monthly wages grew faster than the plan envisaged; they increased 2.3 percent and reached Kcs3,140. The above-plan growth of wages was influenced, above all, by developments in economic organizations. However, there were considerable differences between organizations in the development of wages. As a consequence of the wage measures implemented in 1987, wages rose more rapidly in domestic trade, consumer industries, automobile transportation, education, and culture. Loans by state savings banks markedly increased. At the same time, the level of savings considerably dropped, even though the deposits in state savings banks increased by Kcs13.7 billion (in 1987 by Kcs16.8 billion).

The above-plan growth of incomes caused a faster growth of retail trade turnover, which rose 4.7 percent (in current prices), and the planned level (?01.9 percent) was substantially exceeded. The share of industrial goods in the overall retail trade turnover increased from 53.1 percent to 53.6 percent.

The high dynamics of retail trade turnover was caused by the growth of public demand and the large purchases by visitors from abroad.

The supply of the population with foodstuffs was smooth on the whole. However, in the course of the year there were problems connected with ensuring the demand for certain kinds of dairy, meat, and fish products, and long-life bakery products. With industrial goods, despite the greater volume of deliveries to the domestic market, the supply did not correspond to consumer demand in terms of quantity, quality, and technological standard. For example, the domestic production sector delivered to the market 309,000 color television sets (index 130.8); 16,000 videorecorders; 167,000 freezers (index 140.9); and 130,900 passenger cars (index 120.9). The number of products in short supply increased further, among them, in particular, furniture, building materials, a number of types of drugstore goods and sanitary products, sports equipment, and some engineering and electrical products. Not fully satisfied was the demand for ready-made garments, knitted cotton underwear, bed linen, footwear, small leather goods, and hosiery, despite the fact that deliveries by light industry increased 9.2 percent.

In the sphere of paid services, the volume of receipts from the population increased more than 4 percent and reached almost Kcs13 billion. However, the dynamics of receipts was also influenced by the growth of consumption and the prices of materials. The shortage of spare parts made the development of repair services difficult. Construction activity was affected by the shortage of capacities. The national committee's small workshops' receipts from the public rose 12 percent, and reached Kcs0.8 billion. Also, the increased number of citizens providing services on the basis of national committees' permits contributed to a certain improvement.

The development of retail prices was influenced by the fluctuations caused by normal innovation of the product range and by the changes in retail prices. Attempts to increase prices continued. For example, because of innovation, retail prices of knit underwear went up 2.7 percent, of knitwear 1.4 percent, hosiery 1.8 percent, furnishing textiles 1.7 percent, carpets 3.3 percent, footwear 1.9 percent, and small leather goods 1.6 percent. Price indexes for eggs were lower (2.8 percent) as a consequence of a temporary price reduction, for fresh vegetables and fruit because of the seasonal price reductions; also, the prices of stretch underwear, fabrics made of synthetic fibers, and some types of drugstore goods were reduced.

The volume of resources expended on public consumption of the population rose 4.2 percent, to Kcs12,936 per person, which is Kcs490 more than in 1987. The sums expended on social security rose in particular.

Aggregate social security payments (old age pensions and health insurance) increased 3.9 percent and reached Kcs90.7 billion. As a consequence of the amendments that went into effect on 1 October 1988, old age pensions totalled Kcs58.4 billion—a 5 percent increase. The average monthly old age pension increased to Kcs1,486 (from Kcs1,377 in 1987), and the new old age pensions have also markedly increased.

The number of beds in health care facilities increased by 700; at the moment there are 197,600 beds available, of which 124,000 are in hospitals. There was physician per 271 persons. A total of 120,800 children up to the age of 3—that is, 18.8 percent—are in day care nurseries and micronurseries [mikrojesle]. A total of 450,000 patients underwent treatment in Czechoslovak spas. There were breakdowns in the supply of medicines and medical equipment.

In the 1988-89 school year, 424,000 students were attending secondary vocational schools to prepare for workers professions, of whom 67,000 were being trained in professions requiring secondary school diplomas. A total of 144,000 students are studying at secondary schools, and 227,000 at secondary vocational schools. A total of 173,000 students, including foreign students, are

studying at institutes of higher learning. There are 651,000 children in kindergartens. In the majority of towns and villages, the demand for places in kindergartens is covered.

In the cultural sphere, 6,900 book titles were published in a print run of 102.9 million; 1,538 movies were made, of which 58 were full-length movies. A total of 69.8 million people went to the movies, and 8.5 million saw theater performances. The occupancy rate in movie theaters was 32 percent, in theaters 87 percent. The two channels of Czechoslovak Television were on the air for 7,645 hours in the Czech SR, and 7,378 hours in the Slovak SR.

Between the first and third quarter, 5,227,000 persons travelled abroad, of which 4,571,000 on annual leave, which is somewhat fewer than in 1987. A total of 19,234,000 persons (1,051 more than in 1987) visited the CSSR, of which 12,268,000 were 1-day visitors, including transit travellers.

A total of 81,900 apartments of all kinds were completed. Despite the fact that this is 2,300 apartments more than in 1987, the plan fulfillment fell short by 15,800 apartments. Of the total number of apartments, 20,500 were communal apartments, 35,300 cooperative apartments, 1,700 enterprise apartments, and 24,400 were privately-built apartments. A considerable unevenness regarding the conclusion of the construction of apartments in terms of time and location was registered throughout the year. For example, 27.1 percent of the total number of finished apartments was handed over in December, whereas in Prague it was 18.5 percent. The consequence of this unevenness was that only 72.8 percent of the finished apartments were approved for occupancy.

Construction and other organizations renovated 4,600 apartments, the annual plan was fulfilled by 76.2 percent only.

Projects worth Kcs4.7 billion were completed as part of the "Z" action with the active participation of citizens and the National Front organizations, of which water conservancy projects accounted for Kcs1,382 million, and projects in the field of trade and public catering Kcs693 million, and in the sphere of production and services Kcs675 million. Good results were achieved in the realization of projects of local importance, oriented toward improving the environment and the appearance of our villages.

The results achieved in the realization of the program for the protection and creation of the environment were not in harmony with the projections of the plan. Under construction were 163 ecological projects budgeted at Kcs15.1 billion, of which 94 were projects to safeguard the purity of waters, 29 projects to safeguard the purity of the atmosphere, 24 projects to eliminate and recycle waste, and 16 were projects of the state target program for the creation and protection of the environment. With some of these projects the set working schedules were not evenly fulfilled and capacities were put into operation late. Of the 56 projects of the state program for ecology investments, the construction of which was to begin in 1988, the work on five of them did not begin that year.

There were 7,843,000 persons working in the national economy at the end of the year. In accordance with the projections of the plan, the number increased, in particular, in the nonproduction branches.

The population increased. A total of 215,000 children were born, and 177,000 persons died. Compared with 1987, the number of babies born and of persons who died was approximately the same. The natural increase was 38,000 persons. The infant and neonatal mortality rate remained roughly on the level of the previous year, while the number of abortions increased. There were 119,000 weddings and 39,000 divorces. On 31 December 1988, the CSSR population was 15,624,000.

Government Denies Shooting Incident at Wall

LD0602175789 Hamburg DPA in German 1721 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—An escape attempt apparently failed at the Berlin Wall on Sunday night. [passage omitted]

The federal government, the Berlin Senate, and the three Western Allies have condemned the incident. According to a spokeswoman at the Intra-German Ministry, Bonn appealed to the GDR leadership to "finally stop this antihuman rights behavior." Only by doing this can the GDR prove that it wants to turn the resolutions of the CSCE into deeds. An announcement from the U.S. city commander said that this was the second time within a month that "lethal violence has been used against those seeking freedom in the West." [passage omitted]

The GDR has denied details of the shooting. A spokesman for the GDR Foreign Ministry said in a telephone call to DPA in Berlin on Monday afternoon that the eyewitness must have made a mistake. He said: "A red flare is not the same as ten shots."

Fischer Comments on Forthcoming CFE Talks

LD0602161489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1722 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Solidarity is especially necessary at a time when global problems must be solved through understanding and contructive cooperation and when a peaceful future must be safeguarded for mankind. This was stated by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in Berlin on Thursday during a meeting with leaders of FDJ friendship brigades. The minister praised the activity of youth collectives, which are helping to realize Solidarity projects in Asian, African, and Latin American countries on the instructions of the FDJ Central Council.

The high international standing of the GDR, acquired over 40 years, Oskar Fischer said, is the result of a consistently antifascist development, successes in the dynamic and effective building of socialism, and a constructive and resourceful peace policy which reflects world realities. With the reduction in the manpower of the National People's Army and defense expenditure, the GDR is producing important unilateral concessions to which the other side should react in a suitable manner.

The GDR foreign minister added that 50 years after the start of World War II the opportunity offered by the visible switch from confrontation to detente must be steadfastly utilized.

It is now important not to permit a pause in the disarmament process. The aim is above all to halve the number of strategic offensive weapons of the United States and the USSR under strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, the world wide ban on chemical weapons, and drastic disarmament in the conventional sphere in Europe. The negotiations starting on 6 March 1989 on conventional disarmament and the continuation of confidence- and security-building measures are being conscientiously and purposefully prepared by the GDR and its allies.

FRG Weekly Reports Honecker in Good Health

AU0602143489 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 6 Feb 89 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Absolutely Active"]

[Text] On the eve of the pompous celebrations on the 40th anniversary of the GDR, State Council Chairman Erich Honecker, 76, is obviously healthier than recent speculations said. Last week Honecker was "absolutely active" and "very much present in questions of contents" at two meetings with Kiel's Minister President Bjoern Engholm. Even though the SED general secretary irritated his FRG guests at the beginning, when—obviously recalling an earlier meeting—he confused Engholm with his SPD colleague Gerhard Schroeder and asked Enghom's advisor Guenter Gaus whether he is a government member in Kiel, the GDR head of state proved to be "intellectually surprisingly active," according to those who spoke with him. Thus, to the surprise of his guests, Honecker reacted "extraordinarily positively" to Engholm's sudden advance concerning the establishment of inter-bloc "central European dialogue circles in fields of problems that concern us most." Independent experts "from Denmark to Hungary" could, according to the idea of the Socialist from Kiel, propose solutions to border-crossing environmental problems or prepare technological and economic cooperation. Subsequently the governments would have to effect the political implementation together. In the end, the GDR State Council chairman once more surprised his guests with unusual concessions. Thus, without being prompted, he offered to include Kiel in local border traffic. "Anyone against it?" he asked the speechless German-German round. "Then we will do it this way."

Ministers Receive Schleswig-Holstein's Engholm

AU0602144889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister for Environmental Protection and Water Conservancy, and Bjoern Engholm, minister president of Schleswig-Holstein and present president of the FRG Bundesrat, discussed aspects of environmental policy in Berlin on Wednesday [1 February]. [passage omitted]

The talk focused on results and projects in connection with the more efficient use of natural resources and environmental protection. Great attention was also paid to the preservation and cultivation of nature preserves.

The partners in the talks discussed the development of the exchange of information and experiences on the prevention of water pollution and the use of alternative energy sources.

The GDR minister explained various activities to use low-waste technologies, to recycle valuable materials, to create closed material circuits, to use waste products economically, and to dispose of them without causing any damage.

In this context, he pointed out measures to create all necessary conditions for the protection of the natural environment in the area of the Schoenberg dumping ground in Rostock Bezirk. According to further expert opinions of responsible institutions in the GDR and the FRG, it provides the required geological and technical prerequisites for the disposal of household and selected industrial waste without causing any damage. Negative consequences for the environment can be excluded, he stated.

All these measures also serve to improve the environmental conditions in the region of the GDR-FRG state border and to reduce pollution extending to the other side of the border. Thus, the GDR, at the same time, meets international commitments, he said. [passage omitted]

On the same day, Minister President Engholm was received by GDR Culture Minister Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann for a talk. Both sides paid tribute to the positive development of cultural relations between the GDR and the FRG, especially since the conclusion of the cultural agreement, and agreed to continue to promote this process in the future. [passage omitted]

Erection of Memorial to Imre Nagy Approved

LD0502222989 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—We would like to bury Imre Nagy together with his fellow fighters this year, alongside placing the foundation stone of a future memorial, said Mrs Veszi nee Erzsebet Nagy, the daughter of Imre Nagy, in the Sunday [5 February] evening programme of Hungarian televison 'A Het' (The Week). Erzsebet Nagy talked publicly for the first time in the interview, and said: She was summoned to the Ministry of Justice on December 21, 1988, and was informed that the family can organize the funeral. In her view, a process has now begun in Hungary in which 1956 is evaluated in a many-sided manner.

Gyula Borics, state secretary of the Ministry of Justice, was also interviewed in the programme. Mr Borics said the Hungarian state would see to the funeral of Imre Nagy and his fellows, who are currently buried in an unmarked grave. The relatives will also be able to erect a tomb. Burial in a marked grave was made possible by a legal measure dating from 1979, and the political obstacles have also been averted by today, Mr Borics said.

Nagy's Daughter on Father's Burial

LD0602115689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Erzsebet Nagy, the daughter of Imre Nagy, has for the first time agreed to speak in public, to our correspondent Katalin Rangos:

[Begin recording] [Rangos] I have heard that you have often been asked for interviews concerning your father, and that you have not agreed to give one until now. Why?

[Nagy] In truth, I have not agreed until now. Now I believe that although my family and my opinion were involved, it nevertheless was a public matter. That is why I accepted the invitation of Hungarian television.

[Rangos] When did you first try to have your father buried?

[Nagy] Properly speaking, I—indeed, not just me, but my late mother, my family, and I myself—never thought of appealing to the authorities with a delivery-request [kiadatasi kerelem]. We simply consider it a human right that we should be able to bury him.

The government sought us out. In the past month, on 21 December, we were notified that we should go to the Justice Ministry. Thus, my husband and I went there and exchanged information with two representatives of the Justice Ministry to clarify positions. I have to say that it was very painful for me there, on 21 December, when I learned that my father was lying in lot No 301.

[Rangos] Had you not known this until then?

[Nagy] Until then, no. I had no idea.

[Rangos] Had you not even visited lot No 301?

[Nagy] I had been there; of course I had. However, it had been so uncertain. I had never been told anything officially by anyone. Now, for the first time, on 21 December, they replied to my question; they said that Imre Nagy was lying in lot No 301.

[Rangos] Have you decided on arrangements for the burial?

[Nagy] I was thinking that my father's place is there, in lot No 301, among his comrades-in-arms for whom and together with whom he died. We will bury them together. We would like this to take place this year, together with the laying of the foundation stone for a future memorial.

[Rangos] How do you view the possibility of being able to bury your father?

[Nagy] It is our conviction that a process is underway in Hungary which, simultaneously with the creation of a democratic constitutional state, is also revealing 1956 in a nuanced manner. [end recording]

Independent Groups' Statement on 'Crisis,' 1956

LD0602193489 Budapest MTI in English 1833 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—The independent political and social organizations, federations and parties are seeking to promote—with the greatest sense of responsibility—endeavors aimed at creating a constitutional and democratic Hungary and at getting out of the grave economic, social and moral crisis, said a a statement forarded to the Hungarian news agency MTI on Monday.

The statement went on to say that the reconciliation of power and society was only conceivable in the spirit of national consensus, on the basis of the principles and ideals that dovetail into the historical awareness and moral sense of the Hungarian people. National consensus was only conceivable if all forms of fraudulent practices were refused, the interests of the Hungarian people as a whole asserted, and historical justice administered. This was the only way of laying national consensus on solid foundations, the signatories said.

The cooperation of independent organizations in the interest of advancement, either in coaliton with the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party or in the constitutional position of constructive opposition, was only conceivable with a just historical evaluation and revised conception of the popular uprising that broke out in 1956 against the Stalinist party state representing the tyranny of injustice. All manifestations and statements

to the contrary would deepen the crisis, weaken the chances of advance, and bring down the evaluation of Hungary both at home and abroad.

National reconciliation and agreement relying on firm political and moral foundations was an essential condition of Hungary's European presence and evaluation, the statement said.

The document was signed by the leading bodies and officials of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society, the Transylvanian Association, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Independent Lawyers' Forum, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Bela Kovacs Political Society, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Aron Marton Society, the Raoul Wallenberg Society, the Federation of Free Democrats, the Network of Free Initiatives, the Committee for Historical Justice, the Democratic Trade Union of Research Workers, and the Peter Veres Society.

Independent Party Supports Pozsgay, 1956 Remarks

LD0602183189 Budapest MTI in English
1728 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee and minister of state, has made a step of symbolic importance towards the political re-evaluation of the events in Hungary in 1956, the Independent Smallholders' Party said in a statement forwarded to MTI, the Hungarian news agency, on Monday.

The evaluation of events in 1956 as a "popular uprising" stands much closer to the Hungarian general public and the factual standpoint of the Independent Smallholders' Party than the previous formulas, the organization stressed. At the same time, it voiced anxiety over the manifestations of forces opposing a realistic approach.

The Independent Smallholders' Party considers October, 1956, a national uprising and a revolution against Stalinism. It takes the position that the blood shed during those October days was part of Hungary's national tragedy. It regards the evaluation of the historical subcommittee, set out by Imre Pozsgay, as a compromise acceptable to society. The Independent Smallholders' Party advocates social reconciliation and supports all political steps and manifestations that point in this direction, the statement says.

MISZOT Statement on MSZMP View of 1956

LD0602223189 Budapest MTI in English
2140 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—'The February 10 session of the HSWP Central Committee should consolidate Hungary's democratic process of transition to an advanced European constitutional state. We are deeply concerned that an eventual rollback may set the polarization of society on an undesirable track. The MISZOT [General Assembly of the National Council of Hungarian Youth] member organizations are interested in Hungary's becoming an integral part of European culture and economy'. So runs a statement adopted by the General Assembly of the National Council of Hungarian Youth (MISZOT) on Monday, in a reaction to the statements of HSWP leaders concerning the evaluation of the events in 1956.

The General Assembly adopted a position on the process of constitutionalization, stressing that the new constitution should be drafted with the cooperation of various social and political forces.

Despite a long debate, MISZOT failed to achieve consensus on participation in the World Youth Festival. The idea that MISZOT, as a framework organization for cooperation, should take part in preparations and attend the festival was not accepted by all member organizations.

The General Assembly approved a proposal for the principles of alternative civilian service. The participants emphasize that those carrying out alternative civilian service should be independent from the Armed Forces in all respects, should not obliged to take an oath, and should not be discriminated against in any way. MISZOT proposes that all conscientious objectors be exempt from the legal consequences of punitive or administrative procedures.

A press conference on the MISZOT General Assembly is to be held on Tuesday.

Writers Applaud 'Popular Uprising' Concept

LD0602213489 Budapest MTI in English
1922 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—The board of the Hungarian Writers' Association holds the view that sharp differences and antagonisms in the evaluation of 1956 deepened the crisis of confidence that generated tension in public life and turned the people against the political leadership, runs a statement by the board of the Writers' Association forwarded to MTI on Monday. The statement stresses, 'We welcome the initiative based on historical analyses which has eased the antagonisms that set in over the past decades. The concept "popular uprising" will really lend itself to aligning public opinion, historical analysis and politics and to laying the foundations of the broadest possible national unity in the great task of reform and recovery, comprising society as a whole.'

SZOT's Nagy Says Unions To Reject Wage Plan

LD0602221889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Sandor Nagy, SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] general secretary, in the interview he gave the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE, has stated, among

other things: The trade unions will renounce the agreement made with the government concerning minimum wages, social [welfare] measures, and pension increases, because the price increases introduced so far this year already exceed by at least 2 percent the 12-percent inflation rate which was in question at the discussions held with the government at the end of last year. The SZOT general secretary added: The trade unions will reject the entire strike law if it does not include the possibility of solidarity strikes.

Gyula Horn Discusses Current ROK Relations

AU0602164089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Gyula Horn by correspondent Demeter Pogar, on 2 February: "Hungary's Opening to Seoul Is in Harmony With the International Realities: Interview With Gyula Horn"—place not given]

[Text] Upon his return from Seoul, Gyula Horn gave an interview to a NEPSZABADSAG correspondent.

[Pogar] What interest did we have in establishing full diplomatic relations with the ROK?

[Horn] This step will considerably expand Hungary's international scope. The ROK is a country that is developing very dynamically, and it also has considerable international influence. The establishment of full diplomatic relations between our two countries is in harmony with our foreign policy endeavors. In addition to concentrating on its contacts with its major partners, a small and open country like Hungary should also seek new opportunities. This effort is very important for both economic and political considerations. In other words, we consider the establishment of relations to be a natural step determined by three basic factors. First, the international realities and the changes resulting from the new way of thinking about foreign policy. Second, a considerable process of democratization has taken place in the ROK. Third, we have vital interests in discovering new markets for our economy.

[Pogar] In Seoul, you gave ROK President No Tae-u a letter from MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz. What was the essence of this message?

[Horn] The message praised the results achieved in developing our relations and expressed the hope that a personal meeting could take place in the not too distant future. This subject was also discussed during our talks. President No Tae-u pointed out that he would gladly welcome Karoly Grosz to the ROK. At the same time, we also discussed the possibility of President No Tae-u's including Hungary in a future tour of Europe. Such a trip could take place as soon as this year.

[Pogar] In addition to several other agreements, an intergovernmental economic and trade agreement has also been signed in Seoul on the occasion of your visit. What can we expect from this agreement?

[Horn] Both countries are completely fulfilling their responsibilities toward each other concerning GATT, and, in order to further strengthen these relations, we also included the principle of most favored nation status in the aforementioned agreement. A scientific and technological agreement has also been finalized, and negotiations on avoiding double taxation are also at an advanced stage. We highly appreciate our veterinary health agreement because the ROK has very strict laws in this respect, and Hungary wants to increase its exports of live animals and animal products to the ROK. In general, we are striving for a balanced exchange of goods because, although the value of our bilateral trade almost doubled in 1988 and reached $30 million, Hungarian exports made up only 10 percent of this total.

[Pogar] What are the chances of possible cooperation in the vehicle industry?

[Horn] We negotiated with the Daewoo firm. According to the current phase of negotiations, this firm would export 75,000 vehicles to Hungary in the next 5 years, and the Hungarian industry would settle the bill by supplying spare parts. Naturally, for this we have to create an adequate production base here very quickly, and this base would further develop in the coming years.

[Pogar] According to the South Korean press, in his reply message to Karoly Grosz, ROK President No Tae-u asked Hungary to urge the DPRK to open up toward the international community. Can Hungary accept such a mediatory role?

[Horn] Mr No Tae-u did not mention this to me. However, he did tell me that they continued to adhere to their program declared in June 1988 which stipulates that the ROK considers the peaceful unification of the two Koreas to be its major international task. The South Korean partners' hope that the other socialist countries will follow Hungary's example has also been discussed. The president was not, but other officials were greatly interested in whether we might mediate between the ROK and the other socialist countries. I told them that we could not conduct such mediation because each country must decide on this matter for itself, but it is a positive development that several socialist countries have been advancing toward the ROK.

[Pogar] You must have heard in Budapest that, in response to our steps, the DPRK retaliated by downgrading its diplomatic relations with Hungary to the level of charge d'affaires. What is your opinion of this?

[Horn] Our full diplomatic relations with the ROK are in no way directed against the DPRK. Since 1945 we have always expressed our solidarity with the DPRK, not only

in words, but also in deeds and at a high level, in our bilateral relations, and also at international forums. Not long ago, in September 1988—that is, after we had already started to establish relations with the ROK—we and the DPRK were coauthors of a proposal in the United Nations demanding an end to discrimination against the DPRK and a peaceful solution to the Korea issue. Thus, we have not taken any step whatsoever that could have hurt the interests or aspirations of the DPRK in the slightest, including its goals aimed at a peaceful reunification of the two Koreas. Therefore, we consider the reaction of the DPRK to be all the more regrettable.

New ROK Trade Possibilities Examined

LD0202193589 Budapest MTI in English
1708 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Seoul, February 2 (MTI)—The establishment of full diplomatic relations between the Republic of Korea and Hungary creates new opportunities for bilateral economic and commercial cooperation, said Deputy Minister of Trade Zoltan Gombocz in a statement on the results of his recent talks in Seoul. However, companies should take practical steps with regard to the opportunities set up by the governments.

The fact that interest of Korean medium and small companies is expected to increase towards Hungary, which will require more successful coordination by the Hungarian side. Hungary is a new and unknown market in the Republic of Korea, whose firms state they would like to come close to both the Common Market and the CMEA with traditional selling and buying cooperation and more modern and advanced cooperation forms, including setting up joint ventures to invest working capital and cooperation on third markets. Mr Gombocz stated these efforts coincide with the Hungarian restructuring conceptions.

Sandor Demjan, president of the Hungarian Credit Bank, who also had talks in Korea, announced that Daewoo group and the National Bank of Hungary will both contribute 25 million dollars to the account of invest-trade, set up in November in cooperation with the Daewoo group. This amount is half the full capital investment that provides the basis of cooperation. They are to contribute to Hungarian investments with a similar sum in one year's time. Representatives of the National Bank of Hungary and the Daewoo concern signed another declaration of intent on Thursday [2 February], on investments necessary for the Hungarian production of an annual 1 million microwave ovens. Component production accounting for 5 percent of the total amount could begin in Hungary by the end of 1990 under South Korean management.

Sandor Demjan and Janos Kozma, chairman of the Azimut Hungarian-Soviet trading house, also held talks with the Daewoo board about cooperation on third markets. As a preparation, they are to travel to the Far Eastern coast of the Soviet Union with Daewoo President Kim U-chong on Friday, to hold talks with local authorities and companies on Hungarian-South Korean-Soviet investment and foreign trade cooperation.

DPRK Economic Ties 'Unlikely To Be Affected'

LD0602161389 Budapest MTI in English
1458 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 6, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Hungarian-North Korean economic and commercial ties are unlikely to be affected by the chill in diplomatic relations which has been caused by Hungary's establishing diplomatic ties with South Korea, experts say.

Trade is balanced between Hungary and North Korea.

In 1987 bilateral deliveries worked out to 80 million roubles.

In 1988 export and import amounted to 100 million roubles each, and the 1989 trade protocol envisages a further growth.

The trade protocol of the two countries was signed back on December 2, 1988, and the atmosphere of the talks held concurrently "was expressly constructive", officials said.

In spite of the fact that North Korea is not a Comecon member, bilateral trade is transacted on the basis of five-year trade agreements and annual trade protocols.

Inter-company contacts strengthened in 1987 and mainly in the form of barter agreements.

Hungary's principal export items are buses, various medical, laboratory and measuring instruments, studio tape recorders and consumer goods.

Most of the North Korean export to Hungary is consumer goods (wickerwork, household glassware) and graphite, barite and pharmaceutical basic materials.

Nemeth Receives USSR's Nikolay Talyzin 3 Feb

LD0302112489 Budapest MTI in English
1024 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 3 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU CC [Central Committee] Political Committee and deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, in Budapest on Friday [3 February]. Mr Talyzin is in Hungary for the 38th session of the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental committee for economic, technical and scientific cooperation.

In a cordial, friendly atmosphere, the sides surveyed current issues in the development of varied Hungarian-Soviet relations.

Grosz Meets With Talyzin

LD0302212789 Budapest MTI in English 1921 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 3 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met on Friday [3 February] in Budapest Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and first deputy of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, who is currently in Hungary for the 38th session of the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental commission for economic and technical and scientific cooperation.

The HSWP general secretary briefed the Soviet leader on the situation of Hungary. Mr Grosz stressed that the HSWP consistently strives to stabilize the home political and economic situation, and to continue political and economic reform. He stressed that the most important task is to organize the lines of the party and create the conditions of a unified action.

Mr Grosz stated that Hungary continues to be interested in the modern development of Hungarian-Soviet relations. He noted that the efficient development of bilateral economic cooperation can create favourable conditions for internal building work, and for more intensive participation in the international division of labour. The general secretary stressed the necessity of consistently realizing the programme formulated at the high-level Hungarian-Soviet meetings and that inter-state relations will have to concentrate on major programmes in the future cooperation of the two countries, and that direct relations between companies should receive the major role.

Nikolay Talyzin said that the Hungarian processes are followed with considerable interest and sympathy in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is interested in the stable development of Hungary, and the harmonized furtherance of political and economic reform. He stressed that the Soviet Union encourages the renewal of the CMEA, and is ready to explore new forms of cooperation also in the relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union, and supports the development of inter-state and intra-company relations based on reciprocal interests.

Also present at the cordial and comradely meeting was Peter Medgyessy, member of the HSWP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Economic-Technical Protocol Signed

LD0301213689 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 3 (MTI)—The 38th session of the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental committee for economic and technical and scientific cooperation ended on Friday [3 February] in parliament building, with the signing of a protocol by Deputy Prime Ministers Peter Medgyessy and Nikolay Talyzin, the co-chairmen of the committee.

At the session, the central planning organs of the two countries reported on the preparations of the 1991-1995 Hungarian-Soviet national economic plan coordination. In the interest of extensive advancement of genuine work, the committee held it necessary to accelerate coordination of the strategic issues of economic and technical and scientific cooperation to be carried out in the five-year plan cycle after 1990, and, in harmony, to finalize the organizational frameworks and means of the negotiation process. They termed it expedient to intensify direct relations between companies on the basis of commodity and money relations.

The committee heard a report on the Hungarian-Soviet goods turnover in 1988. It was of the opinion that the estimates set down in the goods turnover protocol were realized for the most part, however, backlogs originated in the delivery of certain important products on both sides - mainly of light industry consumption articles by the Hungarian side, and of cars and timber kinds by the Soviet side. The committee commissioned the concerned Hungarian and Soviet organs to take measures to eliminate the delivery arrears of 1988.

At the closing session of the committee, Janos Ambrus, deputy minister of trade, and Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy of the minister [as received] of foreign economic relations of the Soviet Union, signed the 1989 Hungarian-Soviet goods turnover and payments protocol. The now signed protocol and other agreements envisage, in totality on current prices for each side, turnover worth 4,300 million roubles.

The committee devoted considerable attention to evaluating the work aimed at streamlining the bilateral economic cooperation mechanism. Among other things, the Hungarian and Soviet organs in charge are examining the new solutions with which the bilateral currency-financial mechanism, the foreign trade price formation and the system of agreements can extend the scope of movement of the companies of the two countries. The fact that Hungarian and the Soviet foreign affairs organs and customs authorities recently signed agreements on the introduction of the simplified border crossings of citizens living in the border-zone areas, and the simplification of the control of goods and properties delivered under new cooperation forms, were mentioned as achievements. The Hungarian side positively evaluated the Soviet proposal that aims at the comprehensive and complex development of the economic-commercial relations of the border-zone areas.

At the discussions the sides reviewed the results of the research and development activity carried out by Hungarian and Soviet organizations under the CMEA complex programme of technical and scientific progress.

They stated that in the past two years, the concerned institutes and companied developed 77 products, including micro-computers, diagnostical and measuring instruments, assembly-robots, which may become competitive on the markets of many countries with their technical and quality standard.

The session also reviewed the fulfilment of obligations accepted in the framework of the inter-governmental agreement signed for the building of the Yamburg gas pipeline, mainly the state of construction of the Tengiz petroleum and natural gas collecting and purifying unit. It was stated that the fulfilment of obligations accepted by the Hungarian side is progressing, and the Soviet side is satisfied with the work of the Hungarian organizations.

Varkonyi Departs for Belgium, Luxembourg 29 Jan

LD2901211189 Budapest MTI in English
1830 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi left for an official trip to Luxembourg and Belgium on Sunday [29 January]. On January 30-31, Mr Varkonyi is to visit Luxembourg on the invitation of Jacques Poos, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and on February 1-2 Belgium on the invitation of Leo Tindemans, foreign minister.

Meets Luxembourg Foreign Minister

LD0102050589 Budapest MTI in English
2059 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Luxembourg, January 31 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi and Jacques Poos, foreign minister of Luxembourg, reciprocally termed the Hungarian-Luxembourg talks held in the past two days to be particularly cordial and successful. The leader of the diplomacy of the Grand Duchy expressed the desire that economic and cultural relations of the two countries should come abreast of the good political relations. Mr Poos noted that there is no fundamental difference in the approach of the two countries with respect to major international problems.

Mr Varkonyi also stressed that bilateral relations are not burdened by any problems, and both sides strive to strengthen bonds. Following Mr Varkonyi reported on Hungarian home political development, in answer to the questions of journalists.

Concluding his visit to Luxembourg, Mr Varkonyi and his party arrived in Brussels on Tuesday [31 January] evening, where the two-day official programme of the Hungarian foreign minister will begin on Wednesday.

Discusses Reforms, EEC Ties

LD0202221189 Budapest MTI in English
1813 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Brussels, February 2 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi left Brussels on Thursday [2 February] afternoon. The foreign minister paid an official visit to Luxembourg on Monday and Tuesday, and arrived in Belgium for an official visit on Wednesday.

During the day, Mr Varkonyi met with Frans Andriessen, the new member of the European Communities committee responsible for foreign relations and trade policy who has carried out this function since January. The sides reviewed the implementation of the contract signed last September between Hungary and the Community, and issues related to setting up the integrated single market planned for the end of 1992.

Mr Varkonyi then met with members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives and the Senate, and the members of the Belgian-Hungarian friendship group of the bodies, presented the main features of Hungarian foreign and home policy, and answered the questions of the representatives and senators. Following the lively discussion in parliament, Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, president of the Chamber of Representatives, and Frank Swaelen, president of the Senate, hosted a reception for the Hungarian foreign minister and his party.

"We held successful talk in both Luxembourg and in Belgium, on intensifying relations", said Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, in an interview with MTI's Brussels correspondent prior to leaving the Belgian capital. Mr Varkonyi invited the prime minister of Luxembourg for a visit to Hungary, and renewed the invitations extended to the Belgian prime minister and his partners.

"Our aim in both countries was to maintain high-level political dialogue and to strengthen the system of relations, particularly in the economic sphere. Our discussions about international issues focused on European questions. The talks were held in a very good atmosphere."

In answer to a question on how the Hungarian internal development influences the scope of movement of Hungarian foreign policy, Mr Varkonyi noted: "It is my conviction that the domestic changes also heighten the possibilities of Hungarian diplomacy. We experienced particularly great sympathy towards what is happening in Hungary. All negotiating partners appreciated the development which is taking place in Hungarian political life and spoke with appreciation about our reform programme."

With respect to the lessons of the talks on international issues, the foreign minister said: "Our partners spoke with appreciation about our foreign policy, and hold it

sincere, open and active—an example of how small countries can also play a role, and not an insignificant one, in international politics."

In connection with the fact that the Belgian side proposed to increase dialogue at the forthcoming Vienna talks, Mr Varkonyi said: "The two delegations regularly maintained relations already at the Vienna follow-up meeting, the Belgian side highly appreciated the contribution provided by the Hungarian delegation to working out the compromises." There was agreement in the evaluation of the disarmament talks to open on March 6 in Vienna, both countries hold this extremely important, and will be represented by their foreign ministers. "We also agreed that experts of our foreign ministries will hold consultations prior to these negotiations, and we are also striving for cooperation in the complex negotiation process which has just started between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, where we shall exchange our views on the possibilities of creating compromise."

Mr Varkonyi also said that the future development of relations between Hungary and the European Community were discussed both at his talks with Frans Andriessen, the member of the European Communities committee responsible for foreign relations, and with his partners in Luxembourg and Belgium. "We stressed that the agreement signed with the Community should be put into practise as early as possible. We noted we strive to be able to adapt to the new situation that the creation of the integrated market planned for the end of 1992 implies, as soon as possible. It is indisputable that all countries outside the Community regard 1992 with anxiety, as they fear they shall be placed in a detrimental situation. Our negotiating partners assured us that the creation of the integrated market will not mean isolation, and that they wish to continue cooperation with other countries, including Hungary, in accordance with the principles set down in the contract, and also after 1992," the foreign minister said at the end of his statement to MTI's Brussels correspondent.

Berecz Discusses Mixed Industrial Performance

LD3101230889 Budapest MTI in English 1949 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—No outstanding economic results were noted for Hungarian industry last year, however, the individual branches recorded modest success in realizing the restructuring efforts. This is how Minister of Industry Frigyes Berecz characterized the industrial results of 1988, at his press conference on Tuesday [31 January]. Mr Berecz said that the performance of state industry dropped by 1-2 per cent as compared to the previous year, at the same time, that of the industrial cooperatives and private small-scale industry improved. The performance of engineering industry laggest the most behind expectations, mainly as a consequence of the powerful decline in the socialist export of means of transport. On the other hand, metallurgy utilized the boom experienced on the capitalist market, exported more to the markets than earlier, and was able to raise the prices of certain products by as much as 50 to 60 per cent.

The minister also said that the budgetary support of industry will gradually be discontinued. A few years ago, one quarter of their payments to the budget, more than 40,000 million forints, was returned by the state in the form of various subsidies. Last year, this sum totalled only 26,000 million forints. This year, mining, metallurgy and light industry are to receive minor subsidies, totaling 11,000-12,000 million forints, however, subsidies of chemical industry will be discontinued, and the proportion of withdrawals in engineering industry will be higher. In 1989, 26 per cent of payments to the budget, some 140,000 million forints, will have to be met by industry.

Discussing the production of cars, Mr Berecz said that state support sufficient for the building of an assembly factory will not be available until 1991, although the government, mainly due to to supply reasons, already supports the plan. According to the ministry, and following the example of Austria, it would be expedient to develop component and spare parts production for the country to receive as many as 100,000 cars. Hungary would like to join the purchases of Western licences by the Soviet car industry, Mr Berecz added.

In answer to MTI's question, the minister noted there are at present 51 companies on the list which industry offers for sale, either in part or fully, to foreigners. They include major companies, but they do not wish to make public the company list in the current state of competitive biddings. Considerable interest, however, is being shown.

Roundtable Debates Begin; Speeches Delivered

Attendees Enumerated

LD0602144389 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 6—The inauguration of "roundtable" debate started at the Council of Ministers Palace here today at 14:23 hrs Warsaw time. "We were brought together here by the sense of responsibility for the future of our motherland. We are all responsible for the Poland to be," said General Czeslaw Kiszczak addressing all of 57 participants in the roundtable debates.

Today's inaugural session of the roundtable was attended by: Tomasz Adamczuk, Norbert Aleksiewicz, Stefan Bratkowski, Zbigniew Bujak, Stanislaw Ciosek, Father Bronislaw Dembowski, Wladyslaw Findeisen, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Bronislaw Geremek, Aleksandr Gieysztor, Mieczyslaw Gil, Wieslaw Gwizdz, Aleksander Hall, Marek Holdakowski, Jan Janowski, Janusz Jarlinski, Czeslaw Kisz czak, Zenon Komender, Jan Kostrzewski, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Bogdan Krolewski, Jacek Kuron, Aleksander Kwasniewski, Wladyslaw Liwak, Maciej Manick, Harald Matuszewski, Tadeusz Maiecki, Jacek Merkel, Adam Michnik, Leszek Miller, Alfred Miodowicz, Kazimierz Morawski, Janusz Narzynski, Father Alojzy Orszulika, Jerzy Ozdowski, Alojzy Pietrzyk, [name indistinct], Edward Radziewicz, Tadeusz Rackiewicz, Jan Rychlewski, Henryk Samsonowicz, Wladyslaw Silanowicki, Zbigniew Sobotka, Romuald Sosnowski, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Stanislaw Stomma, Klemens Szaniawski, Jan Jozef Sz czepanski, Eduard Szwajkiewicz, Jozef Slisz, Witold Trzeciakowski, Jerzy Turowicz, Lech Walesa, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Stanislaw Wisniewski, Jan Zaciura, Edward Zglobicki.

Participants Voice Aspirations

LD0602200989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1620 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Recorded interviews outside the Council of Ministers Building in Warsaw on the morning of 6 February with participants in the Polish roundtable discussions as they prepare to enter the building for the start of the discussions]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Czeslaw Kiszczak] I am by nature an optimist. I believe that the roundtable deliberations will end successfully.

[Father Alojzy Orszulik] I think that more than just words will be spoken here; that concrete actions will also be taken later. I am thinking mainly of those who administer power.

[Alfred Miodowicz] I enter this hall in good spirits, and I think that I will come out with it perhaps even a bit better.

[Leszek Miller] With cautious optimism and conscious a breakthrough, I think that in this hall we are staring something truly great.

[Stanislaw Ciosek] I think that this will very much depend on the social climate, on people, on the wishes and social behavior that we encounter. I hope that this will encourage a positive process at the roundtable.

[Unidentified reporter] Someone joked that everything that divides Poles remains here in the cloakroom. In that case, what are we going upstairs with?

[Lech Walesa] With hopes. And there we will familiarize ourselves with the possibilities. If we succeed in adjusting them, then that will be what this is, in fact, about.

[Bronislaw Geremek] Seven years have been wasted, and for Poland that is 7 years too much. Now there is a chance. I hope that both sides will be aware that this is a very great chance, that we will all pay the price for wasting it.

[Reporter] On the table we see cards marking the places—General Kiszczak sits opposite Lech Walesa. [passage omitted]

6 Feb Proceedings Detailed

LD0602180289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1501 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Excerpts] At precisely 1423 the inaugural meeting of the roundtable started at Council of Ministers Headquarters in Krakowskie Przedmiescie Street, Warsaw. Representatives of various social forces who expressed the will to search jointly for ways to overcome the crisis, the will to define directions for the further development of the country and resolve the model of Polish democracy, sat at the table. [passage omitted]

The meeting was opened by Czeslaw Kiszczak, who proposed Professors Wladyslaw Findeisen and Aleksander Gieysztor as cochairmen. This proposal was accepted according to the principle of consensus. One can thus say that we are dealing with the first consensus of the roundtable. So far, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Lech Walesa, Alfred Miodowicz, and Jerzy Turowicz have spoken.

Please excuse me in advance for some shortcomings because I shall report on these speeches from my notes which were done in a hurry while they were speaking.

Czeslaw Kiszczak said that, at a time when we are commencing these debates, we are enjoying the benefit of social trust. People abroad are listening to these debates with great attention, which puts new and even greater tasks before the participants in the roundtable. The authorities, by coming to this meeting, have drawn several basic conclusions from the period which has gone before. The first conclusion is that in Poland one must

build socialism based on our own Polish character, democratic socialism with humanitarian content. One must overcome conservative inhibitions but also give up unrealistic demands. One should also put an end to the moral disintegration of the nation, which unfortunately has surfaced in recent years.

What does the PZPR bring to the roundtable? Well, it is a party which has summed up the 40-year period, as for example at its ninth congress. In recent years, the Constitutional and State Tribunals have been set up. The office of the Civic Rights Ombudsman has been set up. The Consultative Council attached to the Chairman of the Council of State has been set up. The powers of the Sejm and People's Councils have been extended. We are carrying out economic reforms based on economic principles and on principles which are in force in the economy in general. We have a right to expect, Czeslaw Kiszczak said, that an appropriate evaluation will be made by all participants in the roundtable and that they will make it known in an appropriate manner.

The new Solidarity which is to be established may not return to its old ways and become a source of anarchy and tensions. We all want Poland to cease being the sick man of Europe. Czeslaw Kiszczak proposed that the participants focus on the package of important reforms in social and economic life, such as for example the new electoral law, also the new parliament; an amendment to the Constitution, perhaps on the basis of an initiative worked out at the Roundtable; a new economic order, among other things overcoming indebtness and enabling the nation to be self sufficient in food; a system to counteract conflicts and disputes which cost us so much in the not so distant past; and finally trade union pluralism. This concerns not only the issue itself, not the question of whether, but how.

Czeslaw Kiszczak proposed three roundtable working teams: a team for political reforms, a team for economy and social policy, and a team for trade union pluralism. He also proposed that problem teams be set up. They will be, in a way, subteams or small tables, where experts' discussions can be held. The results of these working teams could be presented at the second plenary session of the roundtable.

A council for national reconciliation or a consultative commission ought to emerge, and the creation of that body could conclude the work of the roundtable, Czeslaw Kiszczak made such a proposal. That council or commission would prepare Sejm elections for the 10th term of office. The Sejm in turn would effect the selection of a new government which would be the representative of a coalition balance of forces. Thus Czeslaw Kiszczak ended. We ought to be prompted here to ask the question not whom but who with whom?

Lech Walesa starting his speech approved all the propositions made by Czeslaw Kiszczak on behalf of the groups of the side, as he said, which he represented. Lech Walesa went on to say that we utter words but Poland needs facts, wise, bold actions. We are supposed to be talking not only among ourselves but to all those whom our voice reaches. All Poles are going to make us accountable for every word and decision and also, and perhaps above all, for the lack of decision. We come from far, the road ahead of us is long and bumpy, but on this road one must look above all for that which unites Poles. The time of the political and social monopoly is coming to an end, deep restructuring is needed. It is all the more necessary because the world is escaping from us, our effort is wasted, work badly paid, that is a result of a bad system and the lack of freedom. We continue to feel, as Lech Walesa said, the breath of Stalin on our backs. It is necessary to start with the reinstatement of trade union pluralism also among farmers and students.

The greatest national complaint which has to be fought with as sharply as possible at the moment is the catastrophe of the Polish economy. We need wise plans for reform which are not going to waste the sweat of the Polish worker and it is precisely here at the roundtable where they ought to be worked out. At the same time a reform of the state must take place in three, as it were, fundamental thematic groups, which Lech Walesa defined as follows: Law and the judiciary, the mass media and on the local level, it is a question of the creation of a real, as he defined it, territorial self government. Lech Walesa said that on the side of the government we had met with a will for change, which is a great deal and we are capable of appreciating it. We are entering these talks with hope for we are going to talk about Poland and Poles, and about Solidarity. We believe in this because the cause is good.

Alfred Miodowicz at the very outset drew attention to the fact that talks were taking place in a place where decisions, not always correct, sometimes those decisions had to be changed in work enterprises and also unfortunately on the streets, on behalf of working people had been taken so many times. That is sad and painful, Alfred Miodowicz said. This table is surrounded by the Polish people's great hopes. What is the issue here? The point is for Poland to be a normal country, for the people to live in dignity, and for Poland not to be a wicked step mother who throws her children out into banishment. Not just the elections to the Sejm, not only the sharing of mandates, not just the set of political forces but most of all, we should think how our followers can live in the center of Europe as a sovereign nation [as heard].

After resolving the trade unions we took on, said Alfred Miodowicz, came the toil of the struggle for the interests of 12 million of working people. We were accused of being monopolistic and too demanding by the authorities. This, Alfred Miodowicz felt, was to put it mildly, an injustice. He proposed forming a trade union council of agreement of the working people which would be a kind of alternative for the earlier presented proposals by Czeslaw Kiszczak. The Sejm elections are approaching, continued Alfred miodowicz. We do not need to play

with marked cards. Let there be a struggle but a honest one. We are in favor of abolishing censorship and realistic freedom at work. The reason of state is today, according to me, said Alfred Miodowicz, the good of the working people. Such a reason of state should be our guidance here.

Also, Jerzy Turowicz spoke today before the break. According to him the basic task for today is to reconstruct the confidence between the authorities and the community. He spoke very critically about the last 40 years.

Kiszczak Opens Meeting

LD0602212589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 6 Feb 89

["Full speech" by Czeslaw Kiszczak, not further identified, at the roundtable meeting at the Council of Ministers headquarters in Warsaw on 6 February—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: I sincerely welcome all participants in the roundtable meeting. Thank you for coming to this meeting and your readiness to undertake joint work. We came here led by a sense of responsibility for the future of the homeland. We have been brought here by the conviction that our country is facing a great historic opportunity. We are all responsible for Poland and the way it will be. This is the basic premise of our meeting today.

We are starting the talks with a sense of great responsibility for the use of the historic opportunity that has been created for Poland by the present development of internal and external processes. We are talking out a credit of moral responsibility toward society to conduct the talks in a constructive manner, in this sphere (?leading) to accord.

The international community is also watching us with attention. For what is happening in Poland is not unimportant to the situation in Europe and the world. The expectation of a rational compromise, of a national accord on the issues most important to Poland and the Poles, is universal today. That is why we place such great importance on the representatives of the roundtable, at which are seated representatives of all significant social and political forces, including church representatives, using the constitution as a basis and having such an important part in tempering the contradictions in developing understanding. Full of hope, we are experiencing a time of exceptional political renewal. This historic development and breakthrough is linked to the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Its innovative and bold decisions are a logical consequence of the strategy of socialist renewal which has been implemented for more than 7 years. They are an expression of the will for national reconciliation ceaselessly emphasized by Wojciech Jaruzelski, including the fundamental broadening of pluralism on the path of the development of society and the socialist state. It is not, therefore, a direction dictated by a hasty tactic but by an awareness of mature needs as well as historical correctness.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, history is a capricious teacher of life, but it does not teach everyone the same lesson. I am not using that formulation in relation to any particular orientation or groups, as the real divisions in Poland today run not only vertically along former lines of confrontation, but also within various groups and political and social currents. We have drawn from past experience four main conclusions.

First, the methods of government must be relevant to the requirements of socialism with a clearly democratic and humanistic face. Political relations in Poland ought to reflect fully the differentiation of convictions and interests and create the conditions for their legal agreements.

Second, such far-reaching changes in Poland require that both conservative restraints and the increase in unrealistic demands and various pressures be decisively overcome. Renewal requires social calm, the consideration and the responsibility of all partners, the widening of the social base of reforms and management, and the formulation through dialogue of a policy beneficial for the state and society.

Third, we must all accept the philosophy of the need and also the gradual nature of transformations. Both their delay and their artificial, fevered acceleration would lead to accumulating conflicts and result in hampering, not deepening this complex process.

Fourth, none of the national problems will be resolved by denying historical achievements and undermining the socialist shape of Poland, by aggravating divisions leading to the waste of the nation's energy, to agitation and moral disintegration.

In this matter I wish to share a personal reflection. I belong to that generation that experienced an excess of Polish poverty, hurt, unfulfillment, and bitterness, but that also had the feeling of national success, and that a really (?unwasted) one. Two-thirds of our nation already does not remember the start of postwar Poland. I, however, have the hope that I will not offend the young if I call on my peers, people knowing from their own experience this Polish road through this suffering of ours. We will all be judged by history, better or worse, but assuredly justly. But one value will not be taken away from the generation of first builders. This is the one that wrote into the chronicles of the nation unparalleled achievements, the renewed reconstruction of the independent statehood of Poland, permanent establishment of the new borders of the republic, the reconstruction of the country after the frightening wartime destruction, the greatest transmigration in Polish history, an unprecedented civilizational, educational and cultural advance of the basic classes of our nation.

We desire finally that we cease to be regarded as the sick man of Europe, a flashpoint constituting a potential threat for itself and for others. We can fulfill the hopes of our compatriots. Poland has many valuable assets at its disposal, a significant potential in raw materials, an educated and talented society. There are real possibilities for deepening the reforms and improving the national economy. Internal conflicts that have, after all, affected almost every country in Europe took place, as the saying goes, in Polish fashion. As a result they did not, I judge, leave amongst us wounds and injuries that time and sense could not heal. Finally, a favorable backdrop for Polish affairs is created by the favorable development of the international situation.

The relatively long life of the Polish reforms, their boldness, and their advanced nature objectively make our country a testing ground, a terrain for the practical verification of the deep transformations taking in the socialist countries. This lays on us a dual responsibility. For today it is within the bounds of our possibilities to support through the success of the accord the renewing tendency in the womb of the socialist formation. In turn, our failures can weaken it, prove to skeptics that in socialism pluralism signifies only a fight, even a catastrophe. Let us thus stubbornly create the conditions and proofs of the correctness of reforms, the higher efficiency of the political and socioeconomic system being reconstructed. Let none be limited today either by dogmas or by a narrow, particular understanding of interests. For myself, I declare precisly such an approach. I have the political mandate and approbation for this.

I propose that the object of interest of the roundtable be a package of implemented and intended great reforms of political, social and economic life, moving as I judge very far to meet the expectations of the forces, places and milieux represented here. Especially in the sphere of the economy there are already promising circumstances for cooperation. The direction of changes being carried out after all grows out of and takes account of the achievement of the thinking and searching of various different social currents and thus represents our joint intention. With this intention, too, there is the work of the government of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, boldly implementing reforms, creating the atmosphere for leading the country out of its economic difficulties.

We have enriched our life and our practice in a lasting way by the positive values which the workers' protest brought to light. In many reforms we even went much further. This program is open. The opposition whose attitude is constructive can enrich and modify it through dialogue and personal participation. The implementation of these far-reaching transformations ought to be something in which all Poles are involved. This is the basic condition for their success, the basis of the new social contract. It will rest on these foundations: in the first place, on all all-round discussion about and a tentative outline of the model and structures and the principles of the functioning of the state and public life in Poland.

The idea of the elections to the Sejm, elections free of the element of confrontation and based on the roundtable declaration which sums up the issues that bind Poles together, is of key signficance in this area. In effect the new parliament would be of a more deeply pluralistic nature. This would also facilitate a positive reappraisal of relations within the framework of the coalition currently in power. It is expedient for the Sejm during the current term to amend the constitution on the basis of an initiative which could be put forward as a result of the roundtable debates. The point, above all, is to set up a political structure which would safeguard both greater effectiveness and greater representativeness reflecting to a fuller extent the varied interests and aspirations of the public. The new system would provide for agreement and compromises being reached through differences in opinion. At the same time the inviolability of the socialist foundations of the state's system would be guaranteed. Proposals to the effect that our constitutional law ought to give the due rank to the principle of triple division of power into the legislative, executive and the independent judiciary areas, characteristic of democratic relations, are also worthy of attention.

In the following decades, too, despite well-known mistakes and breakdowns, Poland did not stand still. Thus, we are not building on razed earth. I would not like you to accuse me, ladies and gentlemen, of untimely boastfulness. Polish shortcomings have a long and hardy existence. All of us in this hall know how painful they are today, how painfully millions of Polish families are feeling them. But even those among you, ladies and gentlemen, who at various times and for various reasons questioned the behavior of the authorities, also in the majority participated in the building of our common, Polish home, either directly or indirectly.

Its shape today is not, after all, only the result of the authorities actions, but also of highly complex internal and external conditions, the common denominator of many varied social currents, many often divergent intentions. Well, the question must be asked: With what does each of us come to this table?

As regards the PZPR, it conducted just accounting, embracing the whole 40-year period, at the ninth extraordinary congress in July 1981 and next in the report from the work of the PZPR Central Committee Commission appointed to explain the causes and course of social conflicts in the history of People's Poland, and in many other forms and planes. Based on the decisions of the ninth congress assessments were made and appropriate conclusions were drawn in relation to people responsible for the mistakes of the 1970s. The PZPR distances itself from conservative positions. Numerous, frequently unprecedented solutions have been introduced, strengthening democratic relations and law and order, and also various forms of self-management, the system of consultation, and study of public opinion. I mention at this point the founding of such institutions as the constitutional tribunal, the state tribunal, the

ombudsman, the consultative council with the chairman of the Council of State, citizens' councils with a significant increase in the role of the Sejm and people's councils.

We are expanding openness, freedom of speech, the possibility of expressing various opinions, even extreme ones.

We appreciate the genuine achievements of all generations who struggled for independence. We have opened wide the state's borders. Despite the unusually favorable conditions, the economic collapse, as well as Western restrictions and discriminations, we started and are continuing the dismantling of the command and bureaucratic system in the economy, implementing processes of reforms based on economic principles and instruments. We are eradicating remnants of the Stalinist deviations. We are making profound reassessments in the sphere of ideology and political thinking. We pin our hopes on the champions of reforms, giving them full support.

One could, of course, do more and better. We are drawing critical conclusions from this, as is known, not only in words but also and above all in practice and in deed. Hence, we have a political and moral right to expect that also all participants in the dialogue will make the necessary reassessments, and that they will express this appropriately. This is even more justified because the approaching possibility of the trade union pluralism to be extended to meeting with understandable doubts, fears, and reservations of not only a considerable number of members of the party, including those who are not always sympathizers of the authorities. They exist and they must reach the conviction that the new Solidarity, which is to be set up, will not return to the old well-worn ways and will not cause a threat to social peace, and that Poland will not again find itself in a state of tension and anarchy.

It is most important to provide an answer to a question which often appears: does Solidarity intend to respect the constitutional reality of the political system; is Solidarity willing to write itself into the form of the thoroughly reformed Polish socialism; and also to what extent and does it want to be treated solely as a trade union? The issue is first and foremost to explain the matters which arouse doubts in time, for only clear and clearly perceived intentions, creating a climate of mutual trust, lead to compromise and to loyal cooperation.

We are ready for such a compromise and such a cooperation.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, it is a universal and unanimous desire for Poland to be a country of a rapid and harmonious development and to ensure for its citizens in the conditions of such a great population growth, better social and personal prospects so that many young people will not link their opportunities in life with the abandoning of their homeland and with emigration.

In the second place, a model of economic order that would ensure an effective implementation of reforms and, in particular, the halting of inflation, the reaching of economic equilibrium, the best possible state of foreign relations, including the proces of solving the issue of indebtedness, the acceleration of the restructuring and development of the national economy, including Polish agriculture, ought to be an important constituent part of this contract.

The success of the economic reforms depends largely on the support from and readiness to make them a reality on the part of a decisive majority of social forces. This is because it requires patience and a practical acceptance of the constraints of the effective operation of the economy with a simultaneous concern for social justice, for the everyday life of the working class and all the working people in towns and in the rural areas. We regard the acceptance of shared responsibility for the reforms—even when this runs counter to certain sentiments—as a credible test of whether the professed concern for Poland's prosperity and development is genuine.

The roundtable must in particular discuss the principles and ways to prevent conflicts and effective methods of a conciliatory resolution of disputes especially during the crucial period of reforms.

Finally, in the third place, issues of trade union pluralism ought to become a constituent part of this contract. I express the hope that here it will be possible to agree on a rational solution, especially where the existing trade unions and the future trends of the trade union movement are concerned.

In particular, the point would be to have such a model as would prevent political struggle at workplaces, among the working class, and would prevent divisions that ruin the national economy and rivalry and competition between trade union organizations and activists. Hence, it is not the principle of trade union pluralism but rather its future shape, as well as the rules and procedures for applying this principle in the current and forecast conditions, that is a matter for debate.

We see in the model of the trade union and socioprofessional movement an important but only a composite part of social relations, which we wish to shape jointly. It ought to be viewed particularly in the context of the development of associations, clubs, and societies, creating an area for the legal activity of groups and persons with varied orientations in the sphere of political and public life. If we work out and officially confirm consensus at the roundtable in relation to society, as regards the idea of nonconfrontational elections, and also support for draft political and economic reforms, it is then

possible to appeal without delay to the Council of State to adopt a resolution lifting the blockade on trade union pluralism in the work enterprise. At the same time, it would be realistic to adopt a legislative initiative so that the possibility of varying the mode of forming trade unions would arise, and also to regulate the issue of establishing joint trade union representation in the work enterprise.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, the sphere of the matters which we intend to raise is exceptionally broad, it goes beyond the practical possibilities of our meeting. That is why I propose that three working groups be convened for political reform, for the economy and social policy, and for trade union pluralism. Working from our mandate, at small tables, also with the participation of experts, they would present draft solutions on individual matters.

In the framework of the named teams the appointment of specialist subteams or working groups for various matters constituting the object of mutual interest is possible. The results of the work of the problem teams, including the subteams and groups working in their framework, would then become the object of the second plenary sitting of the roundtable. They would evaluate and sum up this achievement. This session could appoint a Council of National Accord [Rada Porozumienia Narodowego] [RPN] or else a conciliation commission [komis ja porozumiewawcze] in the composition of which there would be representatives of the roundtable and also the highest state authorities. The constitution of this body would close the deliberations of the roundtable and end its mission. The RPN produced as a result of the roundtable, or else the conciliation commission, would formulate a stance as regards a draft for political, economic and social reforms. Representing all the significant politico-social forces, acting from patriotic concern for the good of the nation, and also gathering people expressing such stances and enjoying social authority and recognition, the council or the commission would concern itself with the preparation of the political basis for the convocation of the 10th Sejm. In turn, the new parliament could appoint a government representing a widened coalition.

Ladies and gentlemen, Polish society awaits from the roundtable good news and primarily commensurate results from its deliberations. We must particularly think of those for whom life is hardest. It is precisely they who look to us with the greatest hope, awaiting tangible results from the accord. We must not disappoint these hopes. We must not for a moment forget those who have devoted their whole hard-working lives to Poland, nor those who are its future, the new generation of Poles. Bearing this in mind, let us value time in order to start as quickly as possible work in teams and subteams, so that the mission undertaken by us will find positive expression in the effectiveness of practical activities. On our side we are ready for this.

Ours is a clear and precise vision of the Poland of tomorrow, a Poland that is great by its historical achievements, by the boldness of modern solutions, by the cohesion of the nation around superior goals. We are guided not by the question of who will triumph over whom, but by the question of who will go with whom. It is our desire that the changes we aspire toward ought to be our joint national concern. No one, however, invested us with magical powers of deciding what Poland's reality is to be like, nor should we fall prey to an illusion of this kind. It is only an initial concept of programs of action and the attainment of approval and support from the public that can constitute an effect of our work. This, maybe, will be little but, at the same time, it will be so much!

Everything depends on the sense of responsibility, political culture, courage, and consistency in further cooperation, standing out by the patriotic concern for the country's destiny and the good of all Poles.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention.

Before I ask Mr Lech Walesa to take the floor, I propose that two cochairman, prominent scientists, whose authority is enormous and unquestioned, Prof Wladyslaw Findeisen and Prof Aleksander Gieysztor, be entrusted with chairing further debates. If I hear no objections, I will conclude that we have reached a consensus in this procedural issue. I state that there are no objections. Let Prof Findeisen assume the chairmanship.

Walesa Addresses Audience

LD0602230189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 6 Feb 89

["Full speech" by Lech Walesa, not further identified, at the roundtable meeting at the Council of Ministers headquarters in Warsaw on 6 February—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: All the proposals submitted by the general, both programmatic and organization, are accepted by the side which I represent. It will let its attitude be known within the working groups, endeavoring to join in, to try and work out a position that is good for the country.

In the meantime I would like to say that our meeting represents a special moment, one upon which a great deal depends. We are beginning our deliberations in the glare of the spotlights, while there is sadness and fear of poverty on the other side of the windows.

We say words that are festive, but what Poland now needs is facts, courageous decisions, and wise, vigorous action. For the whole period of 40 years there has been a constant flow of words, and what came of it?

That is why I want to say right at the beginning of our work that we are to hold discourse not just with ourselves alone but also with everyone whom our voice reaches and will continue to reach.

After a whole day spent at work, after rushing from one store to another, having spent many hours standing in lines, and then having nervously calculated what money is still left and how we will manage to the end of the month, you by no means want to listen to speeches, nor do you believe in words any more.

And how many young people there are still left without apartments, embarking on life without a scrap of hope!

All Poles will hold us accountable for every word and each decision. And for the lack of decisions also.

After a number of months of difficult preparations, similar to the breaking of ice, we have finally come to the meeting at the roundtable. We are coming from afar, one side and the other. The road before us is long and rough, the results of our work uncertain. At this table we are to come to an understanding, as far as that is possible, as to the most important matters concerning the country. First, however, we must understand each other, for after all one can come to an understanding only on the basis of truth. So, not concealing the differences and divisions between us, in the face of the catastrophe facing the country, we are instructed by the instinct of self-defense to seek that which joins Poles. Poland must be extracted from disorder and Poles from a feeling of hopelessness. That is why accord must be sought for the sake of reconstruction. The time of political or social monopoly is coming to an end. Such reconstruction is necessary as will make the state of one party the state of the nation and of society. Such a reconstruction that will restore to people the certainty that for honest work they will assure themselves and their family tolerable conditions. The future of Poland depends on whether we will open the road to this.

Europe and the world are developing at a fast pace before our eyes. We are on the spot. We see modernity in foreign films and the windows of hard currency stores. We work in old factory halls with machines that are falling apart. There is a lack of materials, a lack of tools, a lack of ideas. It is difficult to feed a family; it is still more difficult to clothe it; it is also not easy to nurse it when it is ill. Those who are to nurse us and those are to teach our children live in humiliating poverty. The water is poisoned; the earth is poisoned; the air is poisoned. Let no one shift the blame for this on to Polish workers, farmers, or the intelligentsia. As the world is wide and long, Poles work well, thoroughly and productively. They erect bridges and hospitals in foreign countries; they produce inventions; they produce marvellous tape recorders and excellent computers. Why should they work badly in their own country?

The truth is as follows: our effort was and is wasted; that work is badly paid; nothing takes place normally. This is the result of a bad system, the result of a lack of freedom. We continue to feel on our backs the breath of Stalin.

Things cannot go on like this. Things have to change so that in Poland one can live, so that Poles feel that they are masters in their country, so that our young people won't escape from their homeland, so that they won't treat it like a bad stepmother, so that farmers don't give up their lands, and so that workers don't feel like hired labor. It is easy to say that; to do so is more difficult. After all, however, one has to try. It is precisely about this that we are to consult and decide here.

One should start with the reinstatement of trade union pluralism, with the reinstatement of Solidarity. That, after all, is the way the main line of the national conflict has been running since December 1981. We want Solidarity and we have a right to it. I am saying this not only as a signatory of the Gdansk Accord and chairman of an independent trade union but also as a citizen of this country and an electrician from the Gdansk shipyards.

In my own experiences there were quite a few moments of hope and of bitterness. Many a time I heard the promises of a shining future or the shouts of 'Help us'. I no longer want to believe in words. We must have our own union, of our will and of our need, which is going to defend employee interests and will serve only one lady, Poland. That is our main and maybe even the only guarantee for the future.

A wise trade union never locks itself into group egoism. It is aware of the responsibility for the common good and imparts a feeling of strength and hope. Such a union is a threat to no one.

Farmers and students also have the right to their own unions. Thus we anticipate the restoration to legal life of both farmers' Solidarity and the Independent Student Union.

The new law on associations ought to create a real freedom of association for everyone who needs it. This cannot be dependent on the arbitrary decisions of the administrative authorities. Thus trade union and social pluralism will create an expanse of freedom which the Poles need like air.

The catastrophe of the Polish economy is our greatest national complaint. We all know that what has been spoiled over the decades cannot be repaired in a moment.

We will not find magical remedies, no genie or magic lamp is going to help us. In this sphere we should return to normality. It is most important to get refloated from the sandbank and to define the proper direction. Inflation should be halted. I said once that we do not wish to

collect our wages with suitcases. Now one must go with a suitcase full of money even to a grocery store. This creates general fear. In such conditions one cannot count on better jobs or savings.

We know that in order to share there has to be something to share. Hence we were and we will remain a movement that strives for true reforms, deep reforms that will liberate the economy from the political monopoly of nomenclature [as heard], which will give equal rights to all forms of ownership, and which will restore the rights of the market. This will liberate enterprise, and work will also regain its lost meaning. We expect the plan of such reforms to be presented. We want to know what reserves there are in the state budget, and what useless expenditure can be given up. We will certainly support wise plans of reforms which will not waste the toil of the Polish worker and farmer. But where are such plans? We must jointly prepare them and ensure the community's control over their implementation.

Reform efforts and the reconstruction of the economy demand wide social support. People will not provide support if there is no hope of improvement, freedom of management, and also successful defense of the living standards of Polish families. It must also be clear that we will be unable to alter anything in the economy and social life unless state reform takes place at the same time. There is only one direction: It must lead to a democratic system, to the rule of law, to national sovereignty, to civic freedom. Even if this cannot take place immediately, we must start somewhere.

It should be started in three spheres: first, the law and the judiciary, so that the courts become truly independent and just; second, in the mass media that are now almost entirely under the command of one party; thirdly, at the local level, starting from the grassroots, it is necessary to restore real territorial self-government

Do we demand too much by saying all this? We know that the country is ruined, but it was not gnomes that ruined it but the system of administering power, which has expropriated the citizens of their rights and wasted the fruits of their work. Today everyone speaks of our joint responsibility for how we will emerge from this situation and what sort of Poland we will create. But let those who speak thus today remember for the future, too, that the law of life is that that there is as much coresponsibility as there is coparticipation. We do not want Solidarity for its own sake but for the people and for Poland.

We must all pass over our experiences of the past years, overcome rancor and defeat hatred. But on that day when we are finally allowed to speak of this openly, we cannot forget about the people who died, about the years of suffering and anguish, about the years when we were humiliated, and when there was the desire to take away our hope. We do not issue accounts for this here, but the hurts must be evened out.

We do not forget either about the fact that it was the church that helped us to bear these hopes to the present day. Its wisdom and experience today serve the fact that we can talk with each other.

Last May and August the workers of the Gdansk and Szczecin coast, the workers of Nowa Huta and Stalowa Wola, and the miners of Silesia said that there is no freedom without Solidarity. We are loyal to this slogan.

An important and decisive thing has happpened on the side of the authorities. We have met the political will to make changes. We know that this did not come easily, and much depends on how we will arrange mutual life together. This, too, we are to discuss at the roundtable.

This table is surrounded by national hope but by distrust, too. There will be people who will not accept what we work out. We cannot fail to acknowledge and respect this. We expect loyal understanding from everyone for such matters as we take up and for the responsibility that this moment demands.

The conditions in which we begin our talks are also accompanied by a new international situation. In this situation Poland may cease to be the sick man of Europe and take a new place within it, the place of a country in which creative transformations are taking place and which is moving in step with the times. This also underscores the measure of our responsibility.

We are entering these talks with the faith that we will be talking about Poland, the Poles, Solidarity, about matters and problems that unite us and about those that divide us. I believe that he who (?believes) in it will help us, because the cause is good. Thank you.

Miodowicz Delivers Speech

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["Full speech" of Alfred Miodowicz, not further identified, at the roundtable meeting at the Council of Ministers headquarters in Warsaw on 6 February—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! It took us a long time to get to this table. The dispute about Solidarity was taking place. But wasn't it in fact an expression of the fears of those who govern facing the common front of the working people? And now we are finally sitting at this table. It has been installed in the government's palace. We are talking in the place where so many times in the past decisions were made on our behalf. Because it was done that way we had to correct it later in work enterprises, and unfortunately, also in the streets, and so many times. This is sad and bitter.

Today, so many hopes are associated with this table. This means that our country's existing institutions which execute power have turned out to be ineffective and incapable of resolving the most important matters of the

common decently working people. It has turned out that it is really not possible to govern without them, and that governing against them means disaster. Among the people who are sitting round this table there is a minority of us from shipyards, factories, mines, steel plants, hospitals, schools and fields. We are pleased that together with us there are people of creative thought ready to serve us, for such is the great mission of intellectuals.

What is the idea of this table? It is not an auction of words, not ambitions and prestige, not new posts and new offices. The issue involved is Poland so that our country can be normal, so that decent people can live decently on their wages, pensions or annuities—decently means without fear about the next day or next month. It means they can hope and be able to believe, and be certain, that Poland is not a wicked stepmother driving out her children to the foreign lands in order not to get bread but rather better prospects and a European standard of living. After all, it must be possible here on the Vistula and Oder, and it is possible. Really, at this table one cannot focus on the next elections to the Sejm, on the division of mandates and on new proportions of political forces. These issues are important, but it is not only because of them that we have come here. We are carrying a burden of great responsibility for the fact of whether, and how, our successors will be free and independent here, in this part of Europe.

One must not forget that the absence of this kind of responsible way of thinking and effective action led, two centuries ago, the partitioning of Poland—one must not forget this, not even for a moment. In future, it is not the prorblem of borders that will pose a threat to us, but, rather, the issue of our economic independence and, what follows, our political and national independence.

This is precisely what must be borne in mind—nor can it be left to those who are privileged. This is because after 7 years it turned out that although we are different and possibly wiser, we are nevertheless as though at a standstill. This means that without taking into account the requirements of the working people, one cannot rule in our country, no matter however much one wants to, and irrespective of who professes what from various rostrums.

We are tired of declarations. For the third time already we hear that in only 3 years' time things will be better. In the meantime, things are hard for us. This cannot continue! We do not and will not give our consent to this.

Neither credits, nor belt-tightening measures can replace systemic social, economic and political changes. They must represent a guarantee of public control of the authorities and also of the fact that people's work and devotion will not go to waste. This is because we have repeatedly undergone this lesson. As far as the trade union movement is concerned, the date of October 1982, when all trade unions were dissolved, is more important than the date of 13 December 1981 [martial law].

A time for dramatic choices dawned upon us then. Some went underground. Others, unwilling to concede the field to bureaucracy, undertook, in extraordinarily difficult conditions, the work aimed at restoring trade unions and at defending the common interests of 12 million working people.

We have fought many battles. Some were won, some lost. It was through this action that our program emerged: A decent wage, stable prices, safeguards for old age and retirement pensions and social gains, respect for the dignity of labor, a flat for every Polish family, health care, education and leisure, participation in culture and, above all, acessibility of goods.

Is it because we acted alone that we were called monopolists? After all, this was the idea of the authorities which subsequently accused us of adopting an attitude of making demands—and this, into the bargain, at a time when we were defending people against the government's concepts which now everyone recognizes as erroneous!

In the Poland of today, the great mass of the working people find it difficult to make the ends meet. And that is why I continue to state that in the workplaces we ought to be united—within the framework of pluralism and organizational diversity. This is becaue we are all very well aware how easy it is to manipulate workforces that are divided.

It is in the name of unity that we regard with seriousness the Gdansk Declarations. The Gdnia and Lodz documents of the Solidarity working groups also contain numerous and legitimate postulates of the workers.

The anticommunism that can be discerned in these documents is something I personally find painful as a party member. I see it, however, as a result of the shortcomings of socialism—of its absence, beautiful words notwithstanding—rather than of its overabundance.

That is why, in the name of the common interests of the working people, I propose yet again: Let us meet, let us talk, let us gather together; let us establish, here and now, an embryo of a trade union council of accord of the working people.

Let this open forum become a side in the concluding of a new social contract with the government. This, then, is our proposal, our alternative. Let me please repeat what I said at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenary Session: We, the working people, have the greatest need for democracy, because this is what we have so far been most deprived of. That is why we favor the upcoming elections to the Sejm proceeding in a democratic way. We have no reason to play with marked cards: We want open, frank rivalry. We want an honest struggle for the mandates, between those who represent various interests and arguments.

In order to ensure freedom of expression of views, we favor abolishing censorship; hence we want freedom of speech and openness.

We must all agree, I suppose, that missing from among our ranks are those who represent workers' and cooperative self- management bodies. We do not wish to see them as an auxiliary instrument for those in charge of administration or those in power or authority. Self-management bodies are a reflection of the extent to which the economy has become socialized; they are part and parcel of society of citizens. Workers' and cooperative self-management bodies ought to put forward their own candidates for the Sejm and to set up its second chamber. Poland needs a chamber of producers, as a foundation of the self-governing Republic.

Here at the roundtable we ought to be guided by Poland's raison d'etat. For me, this is represented by the good of the people who work in factories and out in the fields, in schools and hospitals—in a word the good of the working people. This must be the formost principle of our Polish Constitution; the foundation of internal calm and of our fatherland's development.

Availing myself of this opportunity, let me make a procedural remark. At this forum we have an opportunity to discuss the most important problems of the working people. Here, too, we shall be discussing the issue of a new social contract. This cannot be done without reference to the Jastrzebie Agreements, where the issue of miners' work was dealt with in a comprehensive way. The August Agreements, concluded at the coast, contain the problems of construction and of removing the acute shortage of housing.

As I have understood it, it transpires from the speech by Comrade General Kiszczak, there will be three basic tables. I move the motion that additional groups, charged with dealing with specific problems, ought to be set up. These groups, sitting at separate tables—maybe smaller tables, but no less important ones—would examine the range of problems of housing construction, its amount, quality and costs; of the mining industry, including its prospects, organizational systems and wages, health protection and environment protection and the range of problems of the younger generation.

It should be recalled once again that the August Agreements of 1980 were signed by young people, representatives of striking workforces. Not many of those problems have been resolved until now, and from this point of view we should once again take up the very important issues of young generations. Thank you.

Turowicz Appears Before Group

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["Full Speech" by Jerzy Turowicz, not further identified, at the roundtable meeting at the Council of Ministers headquarters in Warsaw on 6 February—recorded]

[Text] I am aware of the great importance of today's meeting at the roundtable. For the first time, almost since the creation of people's Poland, we have a chance for an opening in the process aimed at a situation in which Poles, as Lech Walesa said a moment ago, will feel hosts in their own country.

The goal of our meeting and our supplementary work is national accord. A very difficult goal it is, if not a distant one, because it will not be easy to achieve the accord after over 40 years of discord between the authorities and the community.

Here, the first task must be an attempt to restore trust between the authorities and the community, because there is none. In the past, whenever the community gave the authorities some trust, it was abused and wasted every time. Today, deeds and not words must make credible intentions of the authorities to change and remedy the present situation.

We can assume that representatives of the opposition who are sitting at the roundtable represent a very considerable part of the active community which is able to think critically and independently. On the other hand, if the opposition declares its respect for the Constitution of the PPR and the legal order, and has no intention to overthrow the system, this does not mean that the opposition does not demand very thorough changes to the system. Today even representatives of the authorities are talking about the need for changes to the system, including a change of constitution. Those changes are first of all in the role and place of representative bodies, particularly of the Sejm, and perhaps a second house, and an electoral law which will ensure real broadening of the representation of the community.

It is also a matter here of the creation of independent social groupings of a political nature on the basis of the new law on associations. I am not speaking here about Solidarity, since the priority postulate on the currrent state of its legality is more than obvious. These systems and institutional changes comprise the road to the rebuilding of society's sovereignty, which will signify the possibility of that society accepting coresponsibility for the state. But this by no means signifies acceptance of coresponsibility for governing.

The postulate on the opposition sharing power seems to me to be, at the least, premature. It is difficult to imagine coresponsibility for governing in a system of real socialism, a system which society, or a considerable part of it, has never accepted. However, coresponsibility for the state is determined by the possibility of real and effective control of the actions of the authorities, and those of the existence of social mechanisms, making the fulfillment of this control possible. This will be the result of the broadening of the scope of civil freedoms.

By the way, at the headquarters of the ruling party of our country we recently read the slogan: There is no freedom without responsibility. I think that this slogan was erroneously formulated. More valid would be the formula: There is no responsibility without freedom.

I do not deny that changes are taking place in Poland, that movement away from the bad models of real socialism is taking place, but we know that this will not take place overnight.

If the attempt to rebuild society's trust in the authorities is to be successful, then institutional changes in the legal structures of the state will not be enough. Thorough changes are also imperative in the practice of government, in the methods of exercising power. (?This points to) only a few, most significant matters, and so the end of the principle of the nomenklatura—the preference for political orthodoxy and the malleability of people in management posts before competence and [words indistinct] qualifications, a principle which has brought such catastrophic consequences in economic life.

But it is not just a question of the economy. What is also necessary is ending the enforcement of nomenklatura in the sphere of education, upbringing, science and culture, a practice leading to the privileged position of Marxist ideology in these areas.

Well, this ideology is the ideology of the party ruling in the Polish People's Republic, but it is by no means the ideology of the society which is the subject of this rule. Of course, great socialist ideals, such as freedom, justice, and brotherhood, are, it may be said, advocated by the whole of society, only this society is by no means convinced that real socialism makes these ideals a reality. The state is for the common good of all citizens. Thus, the acceptance of the principle of pluralism, including pluralism of outlook, must stand behind it as a consequence the rejection of the privileged position of one ideology, and thus the principle of the ideological neutrality of the state.

Efforts to restore sovereignty to society, to allow it to control the methods of government as well as accept the principle of sociopolitical pluralism depend upon the existence of authentic public opinion. That requires the breaking of the monopoly of the mass media there has been up to now. Naturally, it is known there are gaps in this monopoly. They exist, however, on the principle of arbitrary concessions and have features which are glaringly discriminatory. The principle of pluralism requires that various sociopolitical or world views should be allowed free access to the mass media, and to possess press organs of a range and circulation relevant to the public need. This necessitates fundamental changes in the whole system of permits for publishing newspapers, restrictions on circulation, and the allocation of paper, and the subjecting of that system to public control.

I make no secret of the fact that to a large degree this concerns the Catholic press, which is clearly discriminated against in a country in which 90 percent of the citizens are members of the Catholic Church. (?I link) with this the matter of censorship of the mass media. I am afraid that in the existing situation, particularly the geopolitical situation, the existence of censors is a necessary evil. However, it is a question of reducing that evil to a minimum so that the censor's function is restricted to protecting authentic 'raison d'etat' and state security and the cessation of protecting—as has been done up to now—the authorities' and party's interests by restricting information as well as eliminating opinions which someone does not like.

On the problem of law and order, for more than 40 years of people's Poland we have had a period which is euphemistically called the period of errors and distortions. In reality it was a period of a brutal transgressions of basic human rights, more a period of lawlessness and crimes, in which thousands of innocent people fell victim, supposedly in the name of the law.

Today these matters are starting to be talked about, but that is not enough to create a climate of national reconciliation. It is necessary to point clearly to the link between that lawlessness and the Stalinist political system and its legacy, as well as to reveal the entire truth about that period of errors and distortions. If today we have put that period behind us, it does not yet mean that society is convinced we are living in a fully law-abiding system. A whole array of recent political trials contradict that, as well as the sometimes outrageous practice of misdemeanor courts.

And finally, an area in which fundamental changes must be made is the matter of respect and observance for the autonomy of culture in relation to politics. Culture cannot be treated like a tool. A writer or a film director cannot be discriminated against due to their political convictions or their world outlook. Here are certain wrongs to be put right. The creative circles must have the right to associate in independent and autonomous organizations. The practice or arbitrary concessions and bans should be ended, recognizing that culture serves a superior good. In full continuity, Polish culture with its thousand-year legacy, forms a unity—both that which today is legal, and that which is being created for the second-circulation [illegally] and also by emigrants.

All these issues will no doubt be dealt with by teams which will be created as a result of our deliberations today. It was my intention just to underline that without realistic and profound changes in our political system and in its functioning, that there will be no agreement between the authorities and society; and society will not take joint responsibility for the state.

I would not like for what I have said to sound pessimistic. I know that we shall not jump from the real socialist system to full democracy in 1 day, and that the changes can take place gradually, and that it will be necessary to make reasonable compromises. The point is for the direction of changes to be defined in a socially credible way. I would like to think that this will take place within the process which is being set in motion today. This is

the hope of society, which wants life to be more humane and to feel like our own masters in our own country. Thank you for your attention.

Slisz on Need for Farmers Union

LD0602233289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Feb 89

["Full Speech" by Jozef Slisz, not further identified, at the roundtable meeting at the Council of Ministers headquarters in Warsaw on 6 February—recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, rural Solidarity, for the first time for many years, is able to speak today with its own voice. This voice could be filled with bitterness and justified complaints against various sides, but since we are sitting at the roundtable I see this as the start of the way to regaining our identity.

The farmers are the most numerous group in our society. Over the last 40 years we have been deprived of this significance. A farmer has been and continues to be a second class citizen. He went through the worst humiliation and insults. The passage on this thorny road was interrupted briefly in 1981. This was, however, too brief a period to make any lasting change in the countryside. During the last 7 years the countryside became depopulated, and thousands of hectares of land now belong to the state land fund, which is in practice no man's land. Suddenly, the numbers of pigs and cattle have decreased, causing more and more tragic shortages of food on the market. It is the duty of farmers to feed the nation and we wish to fulfill this task well.

My presence here today at this table is the beginning on the road that must be traveled and a symbol of the times, the times that are marching forward no matter what, I hope forever. Polish farmers need an authentic organization to represent their interests. Such an organization did exist and was registered at the voivodship court in Warsaw on 12 May 1981 and then, from 13 December of the same year, condemned to underground illegal activity.

Nobody denies that rural Solidarity exists in the countryside. We demand formal recognition of the Trade Union of Private Farmers solidarity. The right of private farmers to create independent and self-governing trade unions to defend their professional, economic, and social interests is considered the natural law, and not a law that soneone grants. It finds its full confirmation in the social teachings of the church. It is particularly strongly emphasized by John Paul II. This law is also guaranteed in the International Treaty of Civic and Political Rights which has been ratified by the Polish Peoples Republic.

For us, farmers, making the declarations of the authorities—made within the process of national agreement—credible depends on granting the right of farmers to freely create unions, in accordance with their own choice, in the interest of farmers and agriculture, to the benefit of all Poles. All farmers wish to include themselves in the process of reconstructing the economic and social life our fatherland, but under one condition: that they have an authentic trade union solidarity. Thank you for your attention.

Miner Speaks to Group

LD0602233189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Feb 89

["Speech" by Alojzy Pietrzyk of the Jastrzebie coal mine at the roundtable meeting at the Council of Ministers Headquarters in Warsaw on 6 February—recorded]

[Text] I am a miner, and I have been working underground for 19 years. I am a member of Solidarity, and throughout my whole mining work I felt like a human being only twice, a human being whose dignity was not humiliated. The first time I felt like a human being was during the 16 months of the legal activity of our trade union, and the second time during the 3 weeks of the strike of August 1988. In only 1 year, 1981, in our coalmine, Manifest Lipcowy, nobody died. It was only then that the work in the coalmines became worthy of its name. Divisions were disappearing. Also disappearing were tensions between miners and supervisory staff. The memory of these times has never perished among the miners. We know well that it was the strike of 1980 which gave us these times. That is why I fought in the defense of Solidarity, and of my colleagues who were arrested in December 1981.

For this we were shot at, and locked up in prisons. I take this chance to pay homage to the fallen miners of the Wujek mine who gave their lives in the defense of Solidarity.

Attempts were made to bribe us. We were forced to work in inhumane conditions. People are being disabled. An average miner is a pensioner at 43 years old. The hard labor, lasting the whole week, is to blame for us not having a normal family life. We live not in the cities but in the concrete reservations, in a destroyed natural environment. We are forced to work knowing that the coal is being mined at any cost. We are leaving behind a desert for future generations.

We want to be the true masters in our mines, to have influence on how, and for how much, the coal is extracted, and how much it is sold for. We also want to know if this coal is later wasted. That is why one of our strike demands of August 1988 was to liquidate all intermediate structures in mining. They are totally contrary to the principle of healthy management. The amalgamations have been redesignated as guilds, guilds into enterprises—this is just a change of a label. Mines must be fully independent and responsible enterprises. One wants to alienate us from the rest of the country. Myths are being created about miners' enormous wages, and

about our selfishness. However, the truth is that a miner, in order to earn a decent wage, must work round the clock, on Saturdays and Sundays.

We staged a strike in August 1980. Nobody wanted to talk to us. There were attempts to destroy us, but that strike has borne fruit, with today's meeting. For this reason I now thank, from this platform, all my friends who have persevered until the end. People from the OPZZ came to see us strikers, but they came as representatives of the management. They are trying to organize strikes now, when their monopoly is being threatened, in the Morcinek, Krupinski, the 30th Polish People's Republic anniversary, Jastrzebie, and other mines. Such attempts took place. Calls demanding money were made, but miners did not heed them.

I appeal to mining supervision at all levels: a miner is a man of dignity. He works hard, risking his life, and he is due respect and proper treatment. I also appeal to our counterparts who will sit with us on the mining team, both the directors and the OPZZ representatives. Abandon the interests of your mining lobby! The common good calls for courageous steps, steps in accordance with the good of our country, Poland. Thank you.

ZSL Representative Speaks

LD0602233489 Warsaw PAP in English
2317 GMT 6 Feb 89

["Mikolaj Kozakiewicz's speech (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 6—The United Peasants' Party (ZSL) on behalf of which I am taking the floor today expresses satisfaction that after so many difficulties and hesitation we have gathered at the "roundtable". It is a pity that this has happened so late but better now than never.

"Free, dignified but hungry"—this is not a slogan which could win support of the majority of the nation. Also, it must be firmly said that there is no other road to improve the food situation of society than to radically shift means from other economic sectors to agriculture.

In the ZSL opinion the fundamental condition of further development of food production in Poland—apart from a change in supplying agriculture—is making the entire food economy market-oriented which means a fast shift to free prices.

The ZSL will also speak at the roundtable about a thing of greater importance, namely, about a change of the place and significance of agriculture in the entire huge strategy of this country's development.

In the ZSL opinion trade union pluralism—with due appreciation of its significance—is neither the most important nor the decisive component of pluralism with regard to the future of the nation. It is considerably less important than economic and political pluralism as well as pluralism of world outlooks. And despite this trade union pluralism—limited to the question of restitution of Solidarity—may become the central problem at the "roundtable."

It would be fatal for chances of agreement and reaching a wise compromise if the prestige and symbolism of this question made all sides attach greater significance to symbols than to reality and hold higher "saving their faces" rather than saving Poland.

The ZSL thinks that there is need and place for alternative socio-vocational organizations in the countryside and considers pluralism in this field useful and necessary. It will be impossible to solve the food problem without integrating efforts of all inhabitants of rural communities and agricultural workers irrespective of their ideological and political orientation. For this cause the ZSL is ready to cooperate with all organizations and institutions in rural communities, as well as with the church which is traditionally playing a great moral, social and cultural role in rural milieus.

It is also ability both to critical and self-critical assessment of the past linked with a will to cooperate in the name of the future that is a condition of the "roundtable" success. It will also depend on respect for a partner and honest readiness to understand his reasons.

Finally, another significant condition of the "roundtable" success is—as we believe—realisation of the limits of postulated changes and reforms which at the present time and in this reality should be considered as impassable. These limits are determined by the economic and political situation of this country, the state of public consciousness, the financial and political international context in which Poland now finds herself, the still binding treaties and allied obligations Poland has made and many other things.

The ZSL is of the opinion that any political force taking advantage of difficulties and public discontent stemming from a profound economic crisis and trying now to change the constitutional order by taking over power in Poland would expose to mortal danger the entire process of democratic changes and the very existence of a separate statehood having this type of sovereignty which is characteristic of it.

It is well understood even by representatives of numerous Western states. The more strange that there are Poles (fortunately there are not many of them) who do not understand this and who want to design Poland's future, her socio-political system outside historical time and outside geographical space.

We are here to find an answer, what and how must be done and how to ensure conditions conducive to the full materialization of agreed reformatory actions in all key fields of public life. We are convinced that this should be

the main content of the new social agreement. This is to be served by the great national agreement whose creation depends on profound and systemic reforms that are the main subject of our discussions.

First Session of Roundtable Ends

LD0602194689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 feb 89

[Excerpts] The roundtable began at 1423 [1323 GMT] today at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw. [passage omitted] After a short break, the proceedings recommenced shortly after 1600. The first to speak after the break was Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, then came Jozef Slisz, Jan Janowski, Alojzy Pietrzyk, Jerzy Ozdowski, Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, and Anna Przeclawska.

Next, a cochairman of the proceedings, Aleksander Gieysztor, read out the proposed text of a communique. It says, among other things, that three commissions will commence work on 8 February—an economic and social policy commission, a trade union pluralism commission, and a political reform commission. The next, plenary meeting of the roundtable is planned for approximately the middle of march. The inaugural meeting of the roundtable ended 15 minutes ago. At 1830 Polish radio in its first program and Polish television's first program will broadcast a report from the inaugural meeting of the roundtable.

Roundtable Communique Details Working Teams

LD0602203889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] [Presenter] A moment ago PAP passed a communique to me:

At the end of the inaugural meeting of the roundtable deliberations, its participants accepted the following:

The roundtable participants have decided to appoint three working teams, for economic and social policy affairs, under the chairmanship of Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski; for union pluralism affairs, under the chairmanship of Aleksander Kwasniewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Romuald Sosnowski; for political reform affairs, under the chairmanship of Bronislaw Geremek and Janusz Rejkowski [as heard]. Over and above that it was decided that in the framework of these three working teams sub-teams will function: for agriculture; mining; legal and court reform; associations and territorial self government; youth; mass media; science, education and technical progress; health; ecology, and also housing policy. As the need arises, there other sub-teams can be appointed. The working teams will commence work without delay, starting on 8 February.

Solidarity Spokesman Assesses First Session

LD0602201689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1845 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Interview with Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz by unidentified correspondent, 6 February after the roundtable session—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] You are a press spokesman for 25 people sitting at this table. Can you, on their behalf, make a decision to produce a statement or give an interview?

[Onyszkiewicz] To be honest, I would prefer an interview, for I would at first have to ask for their opinion on what happened today, and for this it is a little too early.

[Correspondent] So, in your opinion, are the debates so far going in the right direction?

[Onyszkiewicz] One should, perhaps, say that two kinds of blockades could occur here. The first blockade would be one based on a situation where some subjects are excluded and some barriers are imposed. The other blockade would be caused by a lack of competence or authority to discuss certain matters. I must say with satisfaction that neither of these have occurred, because all speeches opened up some issues and did not impose any barriers. They were not speeches where one said: this is how it is going to be and there will be no discussion about it—except one thing, on which everyone was in agreement, and that is that the issue of Solidarity is predetermined and the only problem is how to handle it.

As far as the second matter is concerned, there are no obstacles here either. For General Kiszczak—I consider this statement a very valuable one—stated that he had powers to negotiate on all these matters, to discuss all these matters. In connection with this, one can only hope that something that we quite often came across in the past—I am talking about the period from 1980 to 1981, when it often turned out that someone, all of a sudden, had to protect himself using the lack of authority as an excuse—that something like this will not happen.

[Correspondent] We listened to nine speeches. Which statements do you regard as the most important and the most significant?

[Onyszkiewicz] It is terribly difficult to say this in the heat of the moment. I would simply mention a few that my ears picked up. I regard the readiness of the authorities to discuss the matter of the independence of courts as a very valuable thing. General Kiszczak made such a declaration.

The concept to divide power—Montesquieu's concept of dividing power into the executive, judicial, and legislative—is also very important.

[Correspondent] After today, are you a greater or lesser optimist than you were this morning?

[Onyszkiewicz] Yesterday I said that I was a moderate optimist. Today I would say that I am still a moderate optimist, but a little greater.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Jerzy Urban Comments on Roundtable Results

LD0602203189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1843 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Live report from the press center of the Polish Press Agency INTERPRESS in Warsaw]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Good evening ladies and gentlemen, I welcome you all warmly to the press center of the Polish agency INTERPRESS. We are starting the press conference with Minister Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman. Please Mr Minister.

[Urban] On behalf of the Polish authorities, including the government, I express satisfaction at the fact that the roundtable has started its work and satisfaction at the course of today's deliberations. They demonstrated quite close thinking about the future and necessary changes in Poland. When General Kiszczak presented the specific plan for understanding and its conditions, Lech Walesa, who spoke next, began with words which I consider to be the most significant in today roundtable discussions—as the most significant political fact. He said: All the propositions made by the general, both the programmatic and organizational ones, are accepted by the side which I represent.

The differences of opinion were concerned mainly with the past and not the future. I am surprised that many of the assessments dealing with the past were excessively one-sided. We also assess the past critically, but all from all sides. Nor did we hear anything about joint responsibility for the difficulties which Poland is going through and has gone through, including joint responsibility for the Western sanctions which greatly worsened the economic situation of Poland. I am also surprised that in some speeches the changes which have been carried out in Poland in the past several years, and recently have been sharply accelerated, were not appreciated more deeply.

I consider it important that a joint decision was made at the roundtable to start specific work in teams, which will start work without delay; and thus the roundtable is not going to be suspended to some indefinite future date. I assure you that representatives of the authorites are going to function in these teams in a constructive spirit aimed at agreement through compromise.

Janowski on Roundtable, Democratic Party Stand

LD0702013289 Warsaw PAP in English 0054 GNMT 7 Feb 89

["Jan Janowski's Speech (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 6—The opinions that I am going to present today in the name of the Democratic Party were not formed yesterday or the day before yesterday. For a considerable time, we have been publicly stating that Polish problems should be solved by dialogue and not by force, and that this country needs deep political reforms.

We consider the roundtable not as just a place to settle our own problems, but primarily as a manner of making the institutions of the state more representative and efficient. Next stages may and should be: work of the council for national agreement or the committee for cooperation of forces represented at the roundtable, parliamentary elections and change of the Constitution. Let us proceed from one stage to another in a natural manner and fast enough not to waste the fruits which have already been borne by the successfully developing dialogue.

Thinking about the future Polish political system, the DP stakes today primarily on the democratization of the currently existing tripartite coalition. For this reason we have proposed that in the 10th Sejm the absolute majority of one party be abandoned in favour of the absolute majority of the whole coalition, sharing with the opposition a parliamentary influence on the government and the control over the whole state.

Thinking about more distant future, the DP proposes also to make a law on parties.

The DP declares itself also for trade union pluralism. We appreciate the output of the OPZZ and trade unions outside this alliance. However, our goal is not the defence of the status quo. We are of the opinion that the movement of Solidarity has always been guided by two strivings: for political pluralism and trade union pluralism.

We propose to drop the understanding of the state as an instrument of domination of one class over another and to adopt a constitutional principle of the sovereignty of the nation, without dividing Poles into more and less important ones. We are also for a fundamental reform of the methods of exercising power, based on the three-way separation of authority.

We propose to create the office of the president which would be strong but subject to law. We are ready to discuss a politically diversified second house of parliament. We propose to create numerous institutions strengthening the independence of the judiciary.

We propose a system of making use of civic liberties, different from the to-date one. One has to give up the system of licences granted by administration, to drop preventive censorship and to adopt judicial control of the activities undertaken freely by individuals and groups.

Most of the suggestions are addressed to the future constitution. However, we think that the binding Constitution needs deep changes now. Poland seems to need a kind of a provisional constitution—one or more separate constitutional laws.

Ciosek, Miodowicz Address OPZZ Council

AU3101104589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2

[Teresa Grabczynska report: "The Kind of Union the Work Forces Want"]

[Text] The hall was full. There was no need to encourage anyone to talk. There were more than enough trade union issues to discuss, including the most general of all issues—what kind of posture to adopt toward the situation of political and trade union pluralism created by the Central Committee stance. Opinions were varied. Which of them would the OPZZ council support?

The reasons and intentions behind the Central Committee stance were explained by Stanislaw Ciosek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. He said that it is high time to end the long conflict that has been immobilizing the economy, and that pluralism is only possible when there is national accord. Therefore, S. Ciosek continued, it is essential to hold the "roundtable" talks as quickly as possible, and discuss and adopt the principles of confrontation-free Sejm elections. The Sejm is the right place to settle political conflicts, not enterprises, he said.

We believe, S. Ciosek continued, that if the opposition meets the conditions contained in the Central Committee stance, the time will be ripe to implement the clause on trade union pluralism contained in the trade union act.

The package of issues waiting for joint settlement is immense, S. Ciosek said. He mentioned issues connected with the political reforms, followed by those connected with the economic reforms and a model for the trade union movement. He said that "Solidarity" cannot reassume its 1980 and 1981 shape.

We have made a difficult decision, mindful of the dangers it involves. But the deadlock that has existed for so many years must be broken at last, S. Ciosek concluded.

But should the deadlock be broken the way it has been broken? Not even the 300 telex messages received by the OPZZ from trade union over the past few days provided a clear answer. These messages, said OPZZ Vice Chairman Romuald Sosnowski, show that trade unionists are critical of the way the Central Committee plenum adopted its stance, which came as a surprise to the trade unions. However, the messages approved of Alfred Miodowicz's plenum speech.

Trade unionists are not hiding their fears that the political struggle may be transferred to the factories once again, R. Sosnowski continued. And if they insist on only one trade union in each factory, then it must be the kind of trade union the work forces want. Trade unionists are not so much afraid of pluralism as they are worried about the economy and falling standard of living. Therefore, there is only one rule: Let us occupy ourselves with the reforms and counteract the impoverishment of workers, but let us not indulge in political bargaining. First let there be political pluralism, and then trade union pluralism.

Before the start of the talks, Alfred Miodowicz reported on his speech during the closed Politburo session. One has to foresee a situation where political pluralism does not precede trade union pluralism, and every single dissatisfied person, hostile to the present state of affairs, gathers around "Solidarity" for the sake of his interests. Then "Solidarity" would become a great and dangerous force, and there would be no pluralism, said A. Miodowicz.

And what if the opposition does not encourage people to take part in the elections, and if those who always voted in the past now refuse to do so? A. Miodowicz asked.

The leading topic of the ensuing debate was how trade unions should behave. Should they place themselves at the end of the spectrum opposite to the one occupied by "s" activists, or should they try to come to terms with these activists in order to defend workers interests as well as possible?

It would be difficult to count all the suggestions, remarks, doubts, and warnings that were expressed. Establishing a common denominator for all these opinions would be impossible.

If we want to create a normal situation as quickly as possible, then let a registered "Solidarity" trade union also begin to function as quickly as possible, said Maciej Manicki. Let this union be formed just like we were—from the bottom, from the factories.

Let "Solidarity" seeks its support and members in the factories; let it prepare its statutes, register itself in the courts, and elect its leaders, Stefan Macner added. If pluralism were unblocked, we would then consider joint representations, from the factories right up to the OPZZ.

A representative of the Federation of Trade Unions in Light Industry said that in many work places, the reaching of agreements will not only be not easy, but practically impossible. The "other side" is already applying terror and psychological pressure. It is demanding the surrender of trade union membership cards. Some plant managers, for example the manager of "intermoda" in Wroclaw, are quite prepared to offer proper facilities for "s" aktivists at the expense of trade union aktivists.

We have become enmeshed in a contest between political elites, cried Stanislaw Wisniewski, reflecting the remarks made by other people. Other speakers complained that the party has divided the work forces, paved the way to an escalation of demands, and gives the right to speak to those who will denounce everything the trade unions have achieved—class trade unions, with their own clear identity.

If we hold out our arms to cooperation, then let us state the conditions for it, and let us firmly decide on effective action ourselves, said Rajmund Moric. I propose that the government present us with a bill on pensions and a draft amendment to the trade union act by the end of February. The way in which the draft amendment to the labor code reached the Sejm is intolerable.

Replying to all the remarks made, Stanislaw Ciosek said: Basically, a clash between two representations of the working class—the party and the class trade unions—is incorrect and brings no good to any one. A great political reform in Poland is an urgent necessity. Occupying the center of this reform and seeking the best solutions is an offer that is extended to everyone concerned about Poland.

Polish TU Chief on Pluralism, Solidarity

AU0402153289 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, member of the PZPR Politburo and president of the OPZZ, by Imre Krajczar: "There Should Be Pluralism First in Politics—Alfred Miodowicz on Vital Issues of the Trade Union Movement"—in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Alfredj Miodowicz arrived at the international trade union meeting in Budapest late and tired. He went straight to Warsaw Airport from a meeting of the OPZZ Presidium, but, as a PZPR Poltiburo member, he had also previously participated in the 2-day meeting of the PZPR Politburo. At both meetings the existence and future of the trade union were what was at stake. Although representatives of Solidarity—which has not yet been fully legalized—did not participate in either of these meetings, the existence, policy, acceptance, or refusal of this trade union movement, that has been illegal since 1981, characterized the "battle configuration" of these meetings. During our interview, Alfred Miodowicz was still under the impression of the events in Warsaw, and these events provided the subject matter of this interview.

[Krajczar] Although there are certain conditions, the Polish party has nevertheless agreed to restore the legality of Solidarity. To what extent has this decision come as a surprise to the OPZZ?

[Miodowicz] Not only the party has been in contact with the Solidarity, we have also maintained contacts with this organization. We have also been of the opinion that the current situation should change. However, this does not mean that we must agree with either the timing or the methods of changing this situation. I will honestly tell you that this decision has come as a surprise to our membership and cadres, and they have not been prepared. I think that this decision has surprised society, too. I think that this solution has harmed and will harm the trade union forces that are consistently loyal to the cause of socialism.

[Krajczar] In your view, the party leadership did not consider this danger thoroughly enough?

[Miodowicz] I will be frank in my answer. The PZPR has its tactics, and this is often quite good. However, we cannot say the same of its strategy. At most, the PZPR has a strategy that is suitable for a single election term, and this also has to be frequently modified. I do not claim that our movement considers every issue from a strategic viewpoint, but it has become quite clear to us for some time that, if we want pluralism, we have to stick to a certain order of things. Political pluralism should precede pluralism in the trade unions.

[Krajczar] Has something now occurred in reverse? Will the legalization of Solidarity perhaps reverse the desirable order now?

[Miodowicz] You see, we cannot be sure in this either. To this very day, Solidarity has not decided clearly whether it wants to function as a party or as a trade union. If it wants to play the role of a party in the Polish political arena, then there should be no mistakes in the aforementioned order of things. Then it will become primarily a partner of the PZPR. If, however, Solidarity (also) has a trade union function, then problems of trade union cooperation or, God forbid, confrontation will emerge. Problems or disturbances might also be caused by the fact that some of the party members also felt close to the former Solidarity, and we do not know the situation concerning today's Solidarity, which, I stress, is not identical with the movement of 1981. Probably its leader, Walesa, himself does not know what exactly this organization is and what it wants.

[Krajczar] After its full legalization, to what extent will this organization be a partner and to what extent will it be an enemy? What influence will it have?

[Miodowicz] Walesa has changed a lot, and his statements and politically calming steps prove that he has become politically mature and more responsible. We should also not forget the value of Walesa's Nobel Prize in the eyes of the Polish people. It seems that Walesa is now concentrating the central forces of their movement and is forced to face multiple confrontation with the internal opposition. Personally, I hope that the trade union character will emerge in Solidarity. Then, our current exploratory relations will have to be replaced by some sort of cooperation program. This will be necessary in order to make sure that certain large trade union groups and its leaders do not confront each other, for example over wage negotiations, and that rivalry and bidding do not replace Solidarity. If possible, we should also avoid strikes. Our wounded economy finds it difficult to cope with such shocks. The interests of our society demand a responsible social and economic policy. We want to be partners in this, and I hope that Solidarity also wants the same.

[Krajczar] In addition to strikes recalling to work, how does the OPZZ try to influence the public?

[Miodowicz] It is difficult for us to influence the information policy. In our view, the trade union mass media should serve our concepts and the dissemination of our short-term and medium-term programs better than hitherto. We are working on establishing a separate journalists association, and we would like to found an independent federation of trade union journalists.

[Krjaczar] Thank you for the interview.

Budapest Television Interviews Walesa

LD0602231189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2015 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Sandor Regos in Warsaw, date not specified—recorded; from the "Panorama" program, Walesa remarks in Polish fading into superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Regos] Mr Walesa, in your opinion, what is the most important task of the participants of the roundtable talks?

[Walesa] First and foremost they have to learn all the possibilities of this country. They have to agree that the reforms based on pluralism and freedom are necessary.

[Regos] Does Solidarity follow this in a unified manner? It is said a lot nowadays that there is a constructive and a nonconstructive opposition. Perhaps Solidarity also has its own opposition?

[Walesa] Naturally. According to our estimates, about 1 percent of Solidarity members are satisfied with the way Solidarity operates today. There are others who say that radical changes are necessary immediately. This is not a large group, but it is very loud. The majority, and this is over 90 percent of the membership, is determined to put an end to this Stalinist period and live in freedom. However, it wants to achieve this carefully, circumspectly and peacefully, with the fewest possible posses. I count myself in the ranks of this group.

Rakowski Addresses Nation on 10th Plenum

LD0602173989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2000 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Address to Nation by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski—live]

[Text] Good evening ladies and gentlemen. Five weeks have passed since our last meeting. I feel somewhat responsible to the compatriots who are listening to me, because when we started our talks, admittedly unilaterally, I assumed we would meet every 2 at the maximum 3 weeks. Unfortunately, January was the kind of month when so many important matters came up that I really did not find a single free day to be able to talk to you.

Above all the second part of the 10th plenum took place, at which the resolutions as well as the stands of the Central Committee on trade unions and political pluralism were accepted. Those two documents signify, or one could say, open a totally new phase in Poland's political development; they augur the departure from many obsolete assessments and political structures. One could say without exaggerating that they have created a new period—a very interesting and absorbing one—in which there are also quite a few dangers. People give expressions to these dangers at meetings and in the press.

So the plenum was one matter, a very important one since the government must obviously draw conclusions from what was said. One must think about adapting various structures that I would say are in the government sphere, and one must also consider that the government does not respond to those fundamental directions of social or national development that were drawn up at the 10th plenum.

The second issue, and as always it was necessary, or at least in recent months, to work intensively on preparing the drafts of a whole packet of laws we sent to the Sejm. Several days ago they were confirmed. All those laws deal with state economic policy for the coming years and have arisen from the idea and conceptions of the economic reform. I will return to the matter of the reform later.

Finally the third issue, that is also the stir going on around the roundtable, in which I had to participate as head of the government. I am aware of the fact that the roundtable is a very important event in Polish political

life and might become even more important if its effects are going to be beneficial for us all. My visit to the FRG and the flu also got mixed in so 4 days were lost, and in any case it has caught me again. I do not know whether it particularly depresses the head of the government, but I think it also depresses many of my compatriots who are listening to me.

Let us now return to a number of matters that I mentioned. The first is the matter regarding the economic reform or the economy altogether. I will not go on for ages about the subject of what the economic reform is, as we have already spoken about this and it is in any case written about everyday. The point is that all these laws, which have already been confirmed, both at the end of December and now in January, form completely new productive relations in our country. These productive relations rest on this one rather straightforward assumption, that a person's economic status will depend on what he or she produces and what is attained from this production. That is, the results of your work will determine your economic status in society.

What does this mean in practice? In practice, of course, this means the differentiation of earnings, the differentiation not just of a person's economic status but also of his social status. So we will have a more differentiated, not a less differentiated society. This of course also provokes resistance, as our society—that is, we can say all of us—for years supported a more egalitarian (?perspective). There was even a saying to the effect that we all have equal stomachs and so why does one earn more and another less.

As regards earnings, I want to mention one matter that has long been bothering me. When I speak with someone who, for instance, works in a factory and I ask how much he or she earns, then as a rule in Poland this lady, or even everyone in Poland, replies with the so-called barely enough. While what is, after all, relevant is earnings, that means everything that goes into my pocket. Apart from that, my material status for instance depends on how many people work in the family. If, for instance, my wife earns Z56,000 at the moment as an actress, and I warn Z204,000 as premier, then together we have Z260,000. So, in those countries at which we look so often, that is in the West, income is what is counted, the income not just of one man but also of the whole family. Then one gains a completely different picture of how people live.

By this I do not wish to say that people in Poland all live thus [word indistinct]. No, no, no, that's not the point. Only one would wish that people adhere to this principle. Unfortunately, they are still not adhering to it.

That is the first matter. However, I warmly encourage that incomes be counted, incomes of the whole family, or else all of one's own, bonuses, nonbonus payments, the 13th month payment, all that which when added together is the answer to the question: What is your material status?

The second question linked with economic policy and with the economic situation is, of course, that we have to deal with permanent pressure on wages. Well, looking at the matter objectively, I understand these pressures and the causes of these pressures, but this in fact, leads to the vicious circle in which we find ourselves, for these pressures on wages of course cause wages to rise, which in turn causes prices to rise. So we go round in circles.

Now, can all the pressures on wages be taken into account? No, not all, for one must take into account the state's economic situation. Please note that it is not always the state. Already today, this may be decided by wages, for today the enterprise is to decide about the affairs of the enterprise. That is precisely what the freedom of this enterprise rests on. But I wish to share with you the greatest concern that if, for instance, there is an endless spiral of wage demands then, of course, we will have to deal with increasing inflation too. That is the next remark on economic policy or the economic situation.

There is finally a third matter, strictly associated with (?membership fees). There is a saying in Poland to the effect that economic reform only means price hikes. Well, first, I would urge you to ask a director whether just prices decide about [as heard], whether reform is merely a question of prices in his work enterprise. [word indistinct] a few days ago there was a meeting with several thousand directors, and I have to say that for the first time in rather a long while I came out of this great congress hall in an optimistic frame of mind. Moderately optimistic of course, but at least optimistic because those are practical, realistic people.

I don't know what is holding them back, but they also say that this economic reform and all that we have done to date really does give them considerably more possibilities for development, although it also requires, as one of my director friends said, well, more brainwork. That is what this is (?all about, after all).

Excuse me for waving my hand about, but I have now brought this pencil because people are constantly drawing my attention to the fact that I wave my hand about too much.

Well it's very often the case that those who say that reform amounts only to price hikes do not take into account the fact that wages are rising in Poland and are doing so steadily in some sectors of the national economy. In order to close this subject I would like to say that in the future wages for teachers and doctors will be considerably increase. They will be increased on the basis of a new principle for determining wages in the budget sphere. This new principle was contained in the law on determining wages in the budget sphere, adopted by the Sejm.

It is on this basis that we generally will be increasing wages for those professions mentioned, and also for others. I want to state that this increase well, let's say a fairly big increase, was necessary because these are professions which have been left considerably behind in relation to manufacturing professions; and yet, it is very important for us that teachers actually teach, and if there should be complaints that he teaches badly, that he cannot say in reply: "Well, with these wages, what do you expect from me?"

Well, it is simply a matter of these being the two strata of the intelligensia upon whom both the health and the nation and the intellectual level of our society depends.

And I want to end, by citing the next matter which I cited, namely my visit to the FRG. I went there at the invitation of President Weizsacker—and incidentally, I had talks with him. The invitation was sent on the occasion of President Weiszacker giving a ceremonial dinner to celebrate the 75th birthday of Chancellor Willy Brandt. I have known the Chancellor for a long time, it could be that this was the reason why I was invited. I wrote [words indistinct] the newspaper, a book about him (?came out). There were very many, let's say, distinguished European politicians at this dinner—premiers, presidents, among them President Mitterand—with whom I conducted talks: Portuguese President Soares, the Venezuelan President Perez, many distinguished politicians whom Weizsacker gathered at his table.

But being there for 3 days, 3 full days, I also conducted many talks, because it was a murderous pace. The first day, I conducted six talks, and each one was important. The most important talks, of course, was with Chancellor Kohl. It concerned relations between Poland and the FRG, both on the political and economic planes. The Federal Republic is no longer our top trading partner in the West; and at the same time, we are heavily indebted to it. So the issue here is that since we cannot, are not in a position to, pay off the debts incurred, we are paying off the interest and only a limited amount of interest, although it was around $2 billion annually for the last 8 years. Well, one of the issues here is for the FRG Government to meet us halfway and to create more favorable finance and credit conditions. That is how I would describe it.

Of course, we have not decided about anything yet, but Chancellor Kohl has appointed his representative and plenipotentiary, as have I; and these plenipotentiaries will be talking about those matters which could be termed "a package" of economic and political matters, to put on the table to be solved. My visit resulted in an enormous number of commentaries in the West and particularly in the FRG. It was also written about in Poland; there is no need to repeat them, but there is one commentary which I came across—well, I must make a comment on it. Namely, I picked up a copy of ZYCIE LITERACKIE. Mr Wladyslaw Marchejek, chief editor of ZYCIE LITERACKIE for many years, in a column entitled "From My Observatory" writes: What will Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski bring back from the FRG? Gomulka turns over in his grave when there is talk of living at somebody else's expense. Nota bene: We do not live at somebody else's expense. Meanwhile, the Polish economy has to be supported. That is true. But the purchase of Polish factories on the Odra and Nysa rivers should not be allowed.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I know that even the wildest opinions can be spread in Poland—because I often encounter them—but one cannot comment my trip in such a way, because Machejek suggests, indirectly as it were, but in a readable enough way, that Rakowski went to Bonn, perhaps with a list of work enterprises which he wants to sell to the Germans. Well really, it is disheartening when one reads such a thing and I am sorry that such an experienced journalist can comment on my trip in such a way.

Well, there is still a lot to talk about, but I have already exceeded the time limit I set for myself and which the television has kindly granted to me—althought it is the government television, and of course it will remain so. And I suggest that I will discuss other matters which I am concerned about during the next meeting. I hope in 2 or 3 weeks at the latest. Thanks to those who were willing to listen to me, and I wish you a nice Sunday.

Council of Ministers Resolution

AU3101152089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jan 89 p 6

["Council of Ministers Resolution of 31 December 1988 on Material and Technical Supplies During the Years 1989-90"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 36, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Law of 26 February 1982 on socioeconomic planning (Official Gazette, Issue 4, Item 26 and Official Gazette Issue 33, Item 181, 1987) the Council of Ministers approves the following:

Paragraph 1.

Economic units of all kinds and regardless of their form of ownership are free to sell and acquire directly or indirectly, through freely chosen commercial agencies, raw materials and products, hereafter referred to as "materials," as well as fuels, energy, and means of transportation in accordance with the principles defined in the civil code and subject to limitations arising from resolutions and other universally binding regulations, including those issued on the basis of Article 26 of the Law of 6 April 1984 on the Power Industry (Official Gazette, Issue 21, Item 96, and Official Gazette Issue 33, Item 180, 1987).

Paragraph 2.

1. Materials, fuels, energy, and means of transportation of fundamental importance for the national economy are centrally balanced. A list of central balances is set out in appendix 1 of the resolution.

2. The balances set out in section A of the list, referred to in point 1, are subject to the approval of the Council of Ministers and those set out in section B are subject to the approval of the Minister of Internal Trade.

Paragraph 3.

1. Appendix 2 of the resolution defines the extent of compulsory brokerage.

2. The minister of Internal Trade will name the units engaged in compulsory brokerage operations that are empowered to provide the materials and means of transportation referred to in point 1.

Paragraph 4.

1. Suppliers of materials, fuels, energy, and means of transportation to which compulsory brokerage and government orders apply are obliged to fully satisfy justified needs pertaining to materials and to conclude sales (supply) agreements with recipients engaged in tasks connected with:

1) the accomplishment of tasks related to government orders;

2) national defense and security;

3) the creation of state and balance reserves.

2. Suppliers of materials, fuels, energy, and means of transportation that are freely circulated are obliged to accord priority to sales to recipients engaged in accomplishing the tasks listed in point 1.

Paragraph 5.

1. The export of materials, fuels, energy, and means of transportation in quantities that exceed the amounts set out in balances, which are listed in appendix 1 of the resolution, require the consent of the minister of Internal Trade, in consultation with the minister of Industry, on the recommendation of the minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation.

2. The minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation may make the granting of a permit for the export of machine elements and sub-assembly units connected with cooperation that are not covered by appendix 1 of the resolution subject to the extent to which the needs of domestic recipients are satisfied.

3. The minister of Industry, acting in conjunction with the minister of Internal Trade, will determine the commodities and quantities thereof, referred to in point 2, that are essential for satisfying the needs of domestic recipients. This will oblige the minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation to enforce the regulation contained in point 2.

Paragraph 6.

1. Decisions pertaining to the use of balance reserves, referred to in paragraph 4, point 1, item 3, are issued by the minister of Internal Trade.

2. Decisions pertaining to the use of balance reserves that come under the balances that are approved by the Council of Ministers and are set out in section a of appendix 1 of the resolution are issued by the minister of Internal Trade after consultation with the following ministers: the minister of Industry, with respect to the balances listed as items 1 to 5; the minister of Culture and Art, with respect to the balance listed as item 7; and the minister of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries, with respect to the balances listed as items 8 and 9 in section a of appendix 1 of the resolution.

3. Principles governing the use of state reserves will be defined by separate regulations.

Paragraph 7.

Producers of the commodities listed as items 5 to 7 in appendix 2 of the resolution are permitted to sell up to 0.5 percent of the quantity of commodities produced in every given range of commodities outside the compulsory brokerage system.

Paragraph 8.

1. The minister of Internal Trade will, by way of an agreement, organize units that he has selected to draw up the central material balances listed in appendix 1 of the resolution and to implement decisions on the use of the balance reserves referred to in paragraph 6, point 1.

2. The finance minister will ensure that sufficient resources are available to cover the costs involved in the accomplishment of the tasks referred to in point 1, within the limits of the Council of Ministers funds.

Paragraph 9.

Failure to observe the provisions of the resolution will result in the levying of charges payable to the state budget that are set out in separate regulations.

Paragraph 10.

1. The minister of Industry will fix additional charges for consumption of fuel and energy that exceeds the limits set by regulations based on the Law of 6 April 1984 on the power industry. (Official Gazette Issue 21, Item 96, and Official Gazette, Issue 33, Item 180, 1987).

2. The charges referred to in point 1 are to be paid into the fund for structural changes in industry for the purpose of supporting the undertakings and tasks defined by Article 9 of the Law of 6 April 1984 on the power industry (Official Gazette, Issue 21, Item 96, and Official Gazette, Issue 33, Item 180, 1987)

Paragraph 11.

Council of Ministers Resolution No 124 of 19 July 1985 on the principles and organization of the process of material and technical supply for the years 1986-90 is no longer valid. (Monitor Polski, 1988, Issue 5, Item 52)

Designation in the Systematic List of Commodities	Name of Material, Fuel, Energy, Means of Transportation A. Balances Approved by the Council of Ministers
1. 011, 012, 013	coal and coal briquettes
2. 0211	coke and semi-coke
3. 0242-211, 0246-33	engine fuels, gasoline, and pyrolytic gasoline
4. 0242-22	fuels for engines with self-ignition
5. 0242-3	heating oil
6. 0231	crude oil
7. 1814	paper
8. 2419 (excluding 2419-9), 2499, 2611, 2612, 2614	nutritive feeds (in calendar years)
9. 4011, 4012, 2411	grain from basic cereals, grain from other cereals for national consumption, seed grain, imported grain products (in calendar years). B. Balances Approved by the Minister of Internal Trade
1. 0141-8	lignite
2. 0221-11	gas from coking plants and coke oven gas
3. 0232-11, -21, -3	natural gas with a high methane content
4. 0232-12, -22	nitrated natural gas
5. 0245	petroleum asphalt
6. 0311	electric power
7. 0411, 0412, 0415	iron ore and enriched metallurgical discards yielding iron
8. 0414-1	scrap steel (home scrap and collected scrap)
9. 0423-22	ferrosilicon with a minimum 75 percent silicon content
10. 0423-2	ferrochromium
11. 0423-4	silicomanganese
12. 045 (excluding 0451-3)	hot-rolled products
13. 046	pipe
14. 0471	cold-rolled sheet metal
15. 0472-1	zinc coated sheet [as published]
16. 0472-2	zinc coated sheet [as published]
17. 0476, 0477	cold drawn bar, turned, polished, ground [luszczone] bar
18. 0512-51	aluminium oxide
19. 0521-8 (excluding 81), 0531-4 (excluding -41), 0541-4 (excluding -41) 0556-2 to -4, -9; 0566-2 to -4, -9; 0582-52 to -54, 59; 0586-2 to -4, -9 (excluding -91); 1221-74, -75, 1319-4	gold and platinum
20. 0531-11, 0551-15	copper cu—copper and semi-finished copper
21. 0531-12, 0553, 0563, 0589-4, 0533-2	zinc zn—zinc and semi-finished zinc
22. 0531-13	lead pb
23. 0531-14	tin sn
24. 0531-22	manganese mn
25. 0531-31	aluminium al
26. 0531-41	silver ag
27. 0551 (excluding 0551-15); 0561 (excluding 0561-911, -921) 0589-1	copper products and copper alloys

Paragraph 12.

This resolution comes into force on 1 January 1989.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Appendix 1 of Council of Ministers Resolution No 224 of 31 December 1988

List of Centrally Balanced Materials, Fuels, Energy and Means of Transportation

Designation in the Systematic List of Commodities	Name of Material, Fuel, Energy, Means of Transportation A. Balances Approved by the Council of Ministers
28. 0552 (excluding 0552-15), 0562	aluminium and aluminium alloys
29. 0614-31	cast iron radiators
30. 0614-512, 0656-513	sinks
31. 0656-511, 0614-511	metal, enamelled, and cast-iron baths
32. 0672-11, -12	gas stoves
33. 0811-11	excavators, single bucket
34. 0811-12	loading machines, single bucket
35. 0811-13	bulldozers
36. 1021, 1022	automobiles a)
37. 1023 (excluding 1023-6, -9)	buses a)
38. 1024, 1025, 1029-1	trucks and tractors for road use a)
39. 1031-2	twin-axle wheeled tractors
40. 1121-12, -35, -45, 1122-1, 1123-11, -14, -31, -34, 1126, 1127, 1128	cable and wire
41. 1134-12	lead acid accumulators for automobiles
42. 1211-2	sulfur
43. 1218-22, -23	phosphate raw materials
44. 1222-551, 552, -553	crude soda and crude sodium bicarbonate (na2co3 98 percent) for selling
45. 1222-611	sodium hydroxide (caustic soda 100 percent)
46. 1231-1, -4	nitric fertilizers
47. 1231-2, -4	phosphate fertilizers
48. 1231-3	potassic fertilizers
49. 1241-26	freon
50. 1263-11	polyethylene
51. 1263-12, -13	polypropylene and ethylene and polyethylene copolymers
52. 1263-211, -212, -25	polyvinyl chloride and vinyl copolymers
53. 1263-31, -32, -34, -39	polystyrene and styrene copolymers
54. 1269-1	natural rubbers
55. 1269-3, -4, -5	synthetic rubbers
56. 127	synthetic fibers
57. 1312 to 1318	lacquers
58. 1361-332	polystyrene tiles (foamed polystyrene)
59. 1365-11, -12	polyvinyl chloride floor tiles and linings
60. 1371-1	tires for automobiles
61. 1371-2	tires for trucks and machinery (excluding agriculture)
62. 1371-3	tractor tires
63. 1371-4	tires for agricultural machinery and equipment
64. 1371-6	inner tubes and tube guards for automobiles, tractors, and agricultural machinery
65. 1373-54	high pressure hosepipes
66. 1418-12	kaolin (paper industry)
67. 1422	cement
68. 1432	lime and lime-magnesium fertilizers
69. 1461-1	tar board
70. 1462-11, -12, -13, -14	mineral wool and fiberglass, and products
71. 1711	timber from coniferous trees
72. 1712-1	timber from deciduous trees
73. 1715-1, -2, -3	timber flooring materials
74. 1722-1, -2, -3	chipboard
75. 1813-1, -3, -5	cellulose (papermaking)
76. 1813-2, -4	viscose cellulose
77. 1815	cardboard
78. 1881	waste paper and paper, cardboard discards
79. 1911	cotton

Designation in the Systematic List of Commodities	Name of Material, Fuel, Energy, Means of Transportation A. Balances Approved by the Council of Ministers
80. 1913, 1914, 1915	cotton and cotton-like yarn (worsted, carded, and waste yarn)
81. 1917, 2031, 2062-001, 2064-001	cotton and cotton-like fabrics woven and unwoven
82. 1921-11, -14, 2082-220, 4251-51, -52	wool (wool industry raw materials)
83. 1923, 1929-1	worsted wool and wool-like yarn, including crewel
84. 1927, 2032, 2062-002, 2064-002	woolen and woolen-like fabrics, including finished fabrics
85. 2081-232, -244	wool and wool-like discards (woven and knitted)
86. 2311-1, 2312-1, 2313-1, -2, -3, -4, -5, 2314-1, -2, -3, 2315-1, -2, 2316-1, -2, -3, -4, -5, -9, 2321-5, -6 2331-2, -2, -3, -4, -5, -9, 2339-1, -2, -3, 4213, -11, 12, -13, -14, -21, -31, -32, -41	meat, poultry, and meat and poultry products
87. 2321, 2213	raw cured hides and semi-tanned hides for the tanning industry (including leather-dressing)
88. 2358-2	butter
89. 2431	sugar
90. 2491	edible vegetable fats

A) The minister of Domestic Trade approves balances and issues decisions on the use of reserves with the agreement of the minister of Transportation, Shipping, and Communications

Appendix 2 to Council of Ministers Resolution No 224 of 31 December 1988

Materials, Fuels, and Means of Transportation Subject to Compulsory Brokerage

Designation in the systematic list of commodities	Name of material, fuel, energy, means of transportation
1. 011, 012, 013	coal and briquettes
2. 0211	coke and semi-coke
3. 0242-2	engine fuel
4. 0242-3	heating oil
5. 1814	paper
6. 1021, 1022	automobiles
7. 1023 (excluding 1023-6, -9)	buses.

Pakistan's Premier Thanks Dascalescu for Message

AU0602124789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government of the SR of Romania received a telegram from Benazir Bhutto, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, in which she expresses thanks for the congratulations conveyed to her for her appointment to office. Sincere wishes for strengthening and expanding the good relations between Romania and Pakistan, in the interest of the Romanian and the Pakistani people and of peace in the world, are also expressed in the telegram.

Economic Commission With Sudan Holds Session

AU0402185689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 4 Feb 89

["Session of Joint Romanian-Sudanese Governmental Commission"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Khartoum, AGERPRES, 04/02/1989—Khartoum was the venue of the eleventh session of the Joint Romanian-Sudanese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation. The protocol concluded at the end of the session stipulates measures for the further development of trade, of economic cooperation in industry, mining, power engineering, transport, agriculture etc, in keeping with the Romanian-Sudanese summit understandings. The protocol on goods exchanges and payments for 1989 was also covenanted.

Celebrations Honor Romanian-Soviet Treaty

Moscow Festivities Reviewed

AU0302194589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1748 GMT 3 Feb 89

["Festive Meeting on the Anniversary of the Romanian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 03/02/1989—A festive meeting was held in Moscow to mark the anniversary of 41 years since the signing of the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union.

In the addresses, made on the occasion reference was made to the role of the document as well as of the treaty signed on 7 July 1970 in the steady consolidation of the Romanian-Soviet friendship and the broad development of mutually advantageous collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples. Stress was laid on the decisive contribution of the understandings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev to boosting and diversifying Romanian-Soviet relations.

Friendly Meeting Held

AU0302200089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1944 GMT 3 Feb 89

["Friendly Meeting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/2/1989—On the anniversary of 41 years since the signing of the first treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, the ambassador of the USSR in Bucharest, Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, organized a friendly meeting on Friday, February 3.

In the attendance were ministers, deputy heads of section at the CC of the RCP, executives of ministries and central institutions, of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association and of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, representatives of mass and public organizations, party and state activists, generals and senior officers, scientists and men of letters.

Also present were members of the delegation of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association, who are paying a visit to Romania.

On the same occasion, a friendly meeting was held at the Consulate General of the USSR in Constanta.

More Comments on Meeting

AU0302212189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2020 GMT 3 Feb 89

[""Festive Meeting in Bucharest on the Anniversary of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Treaty"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 03/02/1989—On Friday, February 3, Bucharest was the venue of a meeting devoted to the 41st anniversary of the signing of the first treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union.

The attendance included ministers, deputy heads of section at the CC of the RCP, executives of ministries, of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with foreign countries and of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, generals and senior officers, working people of Bucharest enterprises.

Present were also Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the USSR to Bucharest, members of the delegation of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association now visiting Romania.

Valeriu Mocanu, deputy minister of chemistry and petrochemistry, spoke about the significance of the event celebrated. After making reference to the rich traditions of the friendly ties between Romania and the Soviet Union, the speaker emphasized that the signing, on July 7, 1970, of the new treaty of friendship, collaboration

and mutual assistance restated the two countries' determination to broaden and diversify bilateral relations on multiple planes, on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of the full equality of rights observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and international solidarity, of the responsibility to their own peoples and to the general interests of socialism and peace.

A decisive role in the upward course of the Romanian-Soviet ties—the speaker said—had and have the ties of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the CPSU, special significance having the summit meetings and talks which gave—every time—new and powerful impetus to the collaboration and cooperation in the political, economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other fields. A telling expression of the solidity of the ties between the two parties, countries and peoples, of the common wish to confer them new dimensions was the official friendship visit the RCP general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, paid to the USSR in October 1988, an event which opened new prospects to the mutually advantageous cooperation as well as the official friendly visit Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, paid to Romania.

The floor was also taken by R.G. Yanovskiy, chairman of the central management of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association. The speaker stressed the importance of the signing, forty-one years ago, of the Soviet-Romanian treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance which represented the political and juridical basis for the new, socialist relations between the two countries. The principles in the treaty, he said, were confirmed by the new treaty of 1970. Developing in accordance to them, the Soviet-Romanian relations have an ever more dynamic character.

The basis of the Soviet-Romanian collaboration is the cooperation between the CPSU and the RCP, the systematic dialogue at top level. The visits Mikhail Gorbachev paid to Romania and the visits Nicolae Ceausescu paid to the Soviet Union gave a powerful impetus to the development of the Soviet-Romanian relations, strengthened even more their political groundwork.

The Soviet people—the speaker concluded—appreciate Romania's contribution to the socialist countries' common fight for international peace and security, and wish to develop the Soviet-Romanian collaboration, to deepen our socialist states' cooperation, to strengthen the friendship between our peoples.

At the end, the documentary exhibition of photographs presenting aspects from the Soviet working people's life and work was seen round.

The anniversary of the first Romanian-Soviet friendship treaty was also marked in Constanta by a meeting attended by representatives of the local party and state bodies, of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, of mass and public organizations, by many working people.

PEC Sends Letter to Ceausescu on Birthday

AU0502210189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

["Homage-Paying Letter of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania" addressed to President Nicolae Ceausescu on his birthday]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu:

In these moments of great celebration for our party and for the Romanian people, on the occasion of your birthday and of more than 5 and ½ decades of heroic, revolutionary activity that you have devoted with incomparable devotion and self-denial to our nation's supreme ideals for social and national freedom and to their aspirations for independence, peace, and progress, we extend to you, illustrious leader of our party and country, heartfelt congratulations and wishes for good health and happiness, for a long, fruitful life, crowned with great satisfaction and joy, for inexhaustible creative energy, and complete energy in work, in order to continue to lead our party and people with the same wisdom, clearsightedness, and firmness on the road of new and great victories and of building the golden dream of mankind—communism.

Together with the ardent wishes of our whole party and people, on this anniversary we also express our profound feelings of love, high esteem, and boundless gratitude that we nurture for you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the great founder of Socialist Romania, the farsighted leader of our party and state, the hero among the heroes of the Romanian nation, brilliant militant of the international communist and workers movement, and bold and consistent fighter for the cause of socialism and communism, for detente and disarmament, and for the triumph of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

Our national history in its everlasting pages has recorded forever your great example of work and activity and the fact that from early youth you boldly and courageously chose the road of revolutionary struggle and that with heroism and exemplary devotion you participated in the great class struggles against oppression, exploitation, fascism, and war and for the defense of our democratic freedoms, the territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty of our homeland and for the safeguarding of our national interests.

The vast experience you gained in the struggles of the underground period, your boundless devotion to the ideals of socialism, your clearsighted thinking, and your high organizational and political-moral qualities were fully crowned in the period that was inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress, when the historical communist forum, expressing the unanimous will of our whole nation, elected you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the supreme office of secretary general of our party.

Your strong personality and your revolutionary thinking and actions have given a deeply renewing impulse to the whole work of building socialism in our homeland and unfettered the great energy of our people, thus opening up the road for the full assertion of the virtues of socialism, as the system that is superior to any other forms of social organization which has existed so far in the history of mankind. Proceeding from the truth, which has been fully proved in life, that socialism is being built in different conditions from one country to another and from one period to another and that there is not and cannot be a uniform model, you have demonstrated in an original and comprehensive concept that the construction of the new system requires—as an essential condition—that each party firmly and creatively applies the fundamental principles of socialism, in accordance with the national realities, the concrete particularities of each country, and with changes that take place in society.

In drafting the strategy and tactics of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism, you paid and continue to pay close attention to defining the place and the role of the communist party in society, the ways and means for its assertion as the vital core and the leading political force in all socioeconomic fields. We all are proud that we are members of a such a party like the RCP, which you, much esteemed and beloved General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu have characterized in a magnificent way as the strong, living heart of our country, the advanced and revolutionary consciousness of our nation, the great generator of the people's power, a party of the steady progress, of the socialist humanism, of correctness and equity, and of the Romanian nation's great moral values, which you efficiently turned into a strong, mass revolutionary party that is integrated in an organic way into the life of the Romanian society and is followed with confidence and boundless devotion by our whole nation.

The enthusiasm and consistency with which you work in order to increase the leading role of the party in all areas of socialist construction, to strengthen the party's political and organizational power and its ability to unite and broadly mobilize the creative energy of our whole nation in the great historical work we are carrying out on the soil of our homeland, is a great example for all of us. In our whole activity, we are guided by your thesis, according to which the party must continuously perfect its organizational and political-ideological activity, its style and methods of work, and should permanently promote a revolutionary spirit and should constantly strengthen its ties with the broad masses of working people, so that in turn, it should be able to determine the radical changes in our whole society and should unflinchingly lead our whole nation on the road of socialism and communism.

Likewise, we unanimously appreciate your conclusions regarding the evolution of our state in the year of socialist construction, the significance and complex nature of its duties in the scientific management of the society, in planning the entire socioeconomic activity, and in ensuring the harmonious development of the country. In our overall work of building the new system in our homeland, we attach a particular importance to your concept regarding the construction of socialism with the people and for the people, a guideline according to which strengthening the socialist state and increasing its functions and responsibilities in organizing and leading the socioeconomic activity, are part and parcel of the general and permanent process of developing workers revolutionary democracy and increasing the direct participation of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the working people in the management of all the fields of activity and of the whole society.

Thanks to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for more than 20 years, our country has had an original and uniform system, a broad system of workers revolutionary democracy, whose center is made up of the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, which give all the working people the opportunity to directly participate in the drafting and endorsement of decisions and in the management of all socioeconomic sectors. Working out the indissoluble unity between socialism and democracy, you highlighted the original sense of socialist democracy, as a form of the people's self-governing, thus you reiterated the superiority of socialism, as the only social system which ensures the broadest rights and democratic freedoms and the complete social and national equality.

On the basis of your clear and scientific guidelines, all the necessary conditions have been created in our country for the complete assertion of the human personality in society, for the implementation of the complete equality of rights of all citizens, and for the real practice of the fundamental right to work, to receive equal pay for equal work, to study, and to directly participate in the management of our society.

Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, it is your everlasting merit that you drafted—in a global and uniform scientific vision—the strategy of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. By emphasizing that the fundamental issue on which the achievement of a policy of economic progress of our country and of the people's prosperity is to correctly define the the proportion between the accumulation

fund and the consumption fund and to harmoniously combine the present and future goals of the society, you demonstrated—as early as the Ninth RCP Congress—the decisive importance of establishing an optimal accumulation rate, as the only way to achieve, under proper conditions, the socialist reproduction, to recover our country's lags, and to eliminate the great gaps between us and the countries that are developed from an economic point of view.

In light of this guideline, which is based on the individual effort and the work of the entire people carried out with self-denial, our party and state paid and continue to pay particular attention to the continuous development and modernization of the production forces, to their harmonious distribution throughout the country, and to creating a modern industrial structure, which is capable of making greatly efficient use of the material and human resources of our country.

Programs for an intensive development and for organizing and modernizing industry and the other branches on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries have been drafted under your initiative and guideline. Thanks to your concern, today Romania has a strong industry, with a modern technology, which produces 128 times more than in 1945 and whose products become increasingly more competitive on the international market. Many industrial platforms and great socioeconomic objectives—as great establishments of this period of great prosperity in our whole country—have been built in every county.

Likewise, your concern with developing and modernizing agriculture—a basic branch of our national economy—is unanimously valued. As a result of the measures of organizing on a socialist basis and ensuring a complex supply and mechanization of the agricultural operations, in the past 20 years we virtually created a modern, intensive, and greatly productive agriculture, which is capable of ensuring increasingly greater crops year by year and to make an increasingly greater contribution to the increase of the national income and to the proper supply of the people. Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, it is your historic merit that you drafted the concept of the new agrarian revolution, which is meant to make radical, qualitative changes in the area of production forces and relations of production in agriculture, in ensuring the socioeconomic development of the Romanian village, in ensuring the gradual transformation of agriculture into a different type of industrial work, and in eliminating the essential differences between villages and towns.

Proceeding from the truth that the development and modernization of production forces cannot be achieved without the steady and consistent involvement of the most valuable discoveries and human knowledge, you raised science to the rank of state policy and you turned it into a strong material production force, which is directly involved in the continuous modernization of our national economy, in increasing labor productivity, in reducing material expenditure, in making appropriate use of the raw and other materials, and in manufacturing products with a high technical and qualitative level in all fields of activity.

It is your undeniable merit that you conferred new dimensions to the Romanian education and to the complex process of training the young generation for work and life, in order to continuously broaden the young people's knowledge and to ensure their education in the spirit of the love for the homeland and of the glorious traditions of our forefathers' struggle, determined to place all their knowledge and working and creative capacity in the service of the homeland and ensure the comprehensive development of the Socialist Romania.

We consider as a great duty of our conscience to stress that, in the whole period that was inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, eminent revolutionary militant, outstanding personality of our political life, and brilliant scientist of world renown, has permanently been beside you, in your efforts to improve and assert the scientific research, education, and culture. On this occasion, we express our deep gratitude to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, for the greatly significant contribution she made and continues to make to ensure the development of research, education, and culture, and to the general progress of our society.

Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, your clear and farsighted thinking is forcefully and brilliantly reflected in the theses and concepts of the the past 2 decades devoted to developing and perfecting relations of production and the science of management, to which you conferred new meanings and significance in the masterly speech you delivered to the great democratic forum in November 1988. While reaffirming that in the years that followed the historical Ninth RCP Congress—a period of great openings [deschideri] in all areas—great revolutionary changes have been achieved in the socioeconomic organization, in the introduction of the latest discoveries of science and technology, and in ensuring the development of the workers revolutionary democracy, you stressed that all these have ensured and will continue to ensure the firm application of the socialist principles and the more marked consolidation of the socialist—state and cooperative—property, the sure and steady basis for the development of the whole national economy and for the improvement of the well-being of all workers.

You have firmly worked for the revolutionary transformation of our society, for perfecting the activity in all areas and you have always given and continue to give priority of place to people, their well-being and happiness, as the supreme goal of the policy of our party and the essence of the socialist society that we are successfully building in Romania. The vast program of building dwellings and socio-cultural establishments, that is currently being carried out in our country, your actions to

ensure the development and modernization of all the localities in our homeland, of ensuring workplaces for all the citizens of our country, particularly for the young people, as well as the measures to increase pay and pensions, increase the real income of the working people, are many of the concrete expressions of the permanent concerns that the party and you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu show with building a dignified and civilized life for our whole nation.

At the same time, we unanimously appreciate your concern with intensifying the ideological and political-educational activity of shaping the new-type and advanced man, who is animated by an ardent love for the party, homeland, and people and by boundless devotion to the cause of socialism and peace.

Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, by promoting a uniform concept regarding the interests of the Romanian people—and of all the people of the world—to develop and cooperate in a lasting climate of peace and international security, in the awareness of our whole nation you represent the great forger and promoter of Romanian foreign policy—a profoundly constructive, dynamic, and realistic policy, which is permeated by a feeling of high responsibility for the destinies of the Romanian people and for the life and peace of all the people of the world. Through your actions over the past 24 years, you have asserted yourself as an outstanding personality of the international political life and an ardent militant for the cause of peace, detente, friendship, and cooperation among nations. The basic theses of the Romanian foreign policy and the numerous ideas expressed by you in your permanent dialogue with party and state leaders, have found a great and strong response from the world public opinion and the people of the world and are acknowledged and approved in the basic documents of various international fora.

Stressing that the fundamental issue of our times is to prevent a new world war that would inevitably turn into a destructive nuclear war, you have firmly spoken out for a comprehensive disarmament program, which should start from the need of the gradual elimination of all nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, and the other means of mass destruction, under a strict international control.

In the spirit of the same high responsibility for the destinies of peace, you pay attention primarily to the elimination of the policy of force and the threat of force and of the hotbeds of conflict, and to finding negotiated solutions to all interstate conflicts.

Your concept on eliminating underdevelopment, establishing a new order, based on equality and equity, which should ensure the socioeconomic progress of all nations, primarily of the less developed nations, has a strong humanist character.

The intensive activity that you carry out to develop the RCP's cooperation and solidarity with all the communist and workers parties, with socialist and social democratic parties, with national liberation movements, with all the progressive, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for social progress and peace throughout the world, is highly and unanimously valued by communists and by all our people.

Your boundless confidence in the creative force of people, in the capacity of peoples to accomplish their aspiration for peace, progress, and prosperity, and, working in unity, to build a bright future, confers to your brilliant work in the field of foreign policy features of profound humanism, which characterizes your whole life and revolutionary struggle, a life that, with exemplary devotion, you place in the service of the most noble ideals of the Romanian people and of mankind, for the triumph of peace and understanding among all the nations of the world.

Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the RCP and our whole nation pay homage to you, their beloved leader, the great hero among the heroes of our nation, who, for more than 5 and ½ decades—showing great concern with the great aspirations and ideals of the people—has served with exemplary self-denial and unequalled devotion the cause of the party, of socialism, and communism.

With deepest feelings of love and appreciation, with the profound gratitude that we owe you for everything you have done and are doing for the glory and greatness of our dear homeland, for the well-being and the happiness of the working people, in complete unity of thinking and feelings, the communists and all the sons of our homeland extend to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our good wishes and we express our ardent desire to have you always at the helm of our party and state—a sure guarantee of the progress and the many-sided prosperity of Socialist Romania—and to have you in the highly responsible office as a firm and experienced leader of the destinies of the Romanian people.

Greatly mobilized by the bold and deeply scientific theses and guidelines included in your exceptional speech at the joint plenary meeting of the RCP with the workers democratic organizations and mass and civic bodies, by your high example of work and life that you permanently give us, and by your actions and your heroic and bold deeds, we solemnly pledge to do all we can, to work ceaselessly, with enthusiasm, self-denial, and in a revolutionary spirit—as you have requested and continue to requesting from us to do—for the unflinching implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state. We will work with utmost responsibility to exemplarily fulfill the plan for this year and for the whole 5-year plan period, the objectives of the current stage in the socioeconomic development of our homeland, and the brilliant program of our party.

We are aware of the fact that we still have many tasks to fulfill in order to be up to the great deeds that you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, require from us, from the whole party and people and we assure you, from the bottom of our hearts, that the Political Executive Committee and the party and state aktiv will continue to work with greater determination, in the future, too, to continue to assert a revolutionary spirit, responsibility, and intransigency in work, in order to strengthen order and discipline in all sectors of activity; we will always militate firmly to unite the efforts of all communists and of the whole nation, in order to unflinchingly implement the party decisions and observe the laws of our country, and to strengthen the unity of our people around the party and around you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General, as the supreme guarantee of the prosperity of the Socialist Romania, in complete freedom and independence.

Responding with great enthusiasm to the calls you address to the party and our people, we assure you that we will make all necessary efforts so that in 1989, the year when the 14th RCP Congress takes place and when we celebrate the 45th anniversarty of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, in all the sectors of activity, we will achieve the best results in the implementation of the party objectives, of your guidelines, and of recommendations in order to ensure the development of our country, improve the material and cultural standard of our people, and ensure the progress and constant prosperity of our dear homeland—the Socialist Republic of Romania.

At this anniversary, a bright holiday for our country and people, from the bottom of our hearts, once again we extend to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, warmest wishes for good health, a long and happy life, inexhaustible energy in work, in order to lead our country, party, and people toward new victories—toward communism.

We wish you a long and happy life, much beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with the much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, and with all those who are dear and close to you.

From the bottom of our hearts we extend you warm wishes for many happy returns of the day!

26 January 1989

Daily Comments on Superiority of Socialism

AU3101152889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1321 GMT 31 Jan 89

["A Renewing Outlook on the Dialectical, Revolutionary Essence of Improvement of the Socialist System—excerpts from an article by Professor C. Borgeanu, D., published in the January 31 issue of SCINTEIA"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/01/1989—Of the multitude of ideas by which the RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu develops the dialectics, emphasis should be placed first of all on the dialects as history, as understanding of reality, of society, of man, in their historical character. Such an idea about social life in its permanent change, that generates new and new elements, removing other, old ones, has proved to be of considerable theoretical force in President Nicolae Ceausescu's oeuvre and action. The options in the settlement of the major issues of the present-day world thus cannot skip the people's history, the values that emerged and distinguished themselves along the history, the conquests in the struggle that lasted decades or even centuries. The building of the new society in Romania tellingly illustrates such a law of social development. The assertion of the socialist principles in all domains of life, representing a divorce from the past of social exploitation and national oppression, also entails a powerful continuity in relation to the whole previous historical creation.

As clearly shown by the RCP General Secretary in his speech on January 26, the system of values of socialism—an expression of the superiority of the new social system—can demonstrate its force and efficiency only to the extent to which it takes account of every people's history and culture. So, prominent ideas of our scale of values, like national freedom and unity, confidence in the people's creative power are deeply rooted in the Romanian people's history, in its material and spiritual creations, in its struggle for national and social liberation, being raised onto a higher stage by the revolutionary thought and practice.

As seen by the RCP, the idea of historical necessity of socialism, of the process-like character, of the continuous improvement of the new system decyphers this sense in our conditions. Hence also the party general secretary's firm riposte against any attempt to ignore or distort this meaning, to consider that the modernization of the society, its progress can be achieved through a return to obsolete forms and methods, to structures the historical dooming of which cannot be ignored by a lucid and scientifically-minded analyst of the ways of mankind's evolution. Therefore, the wide-embracing picture of the Romanian people's history comprised in the November 28, 1988 exposition is also a solid scientific substantiation of the progressive sense of history that, in spite of all vicissitudes, adversities, obstacles opens the perspective of a society of equity, social and material freedom, of full accomplishment of man's creative virtues.

The analysis of the senses of contemporary history leads to another facet of dialectics, that is the understanding of reality in a revolutionary way, in a revolutionary spirit.

An essential component of the dialectics in this hypostasis is nowadays the revealing of the contradictions of capitalism, of the advanced stage of evolution of these contradictions, of their new forms and instances, which leads to the conclusion about the historically obsolete character of that social system, for all the role it played in mankind's history, for all its still considerable possibilities. Hence, the

stringent necessity to view the questions of improvement of the socialist system from the angle of the opposition between socialism and capitalism.

Therefore, the settlement in a revolutionary spirit of the complex issues of the new system, in extremely diverse forms, in keeping with the situation in every country cannot copy the means characteristic of the capitalist system, cannot open one way or another the road to capitalist forms.

President Nicolae Ceausescu has made a valuable contribution especially through the idea of continuity of the revolutionary process all along the period of socialist and even communist construction. this idea offers new openings for a more subtle, more nuanced, adequate understanding of the present-day realities, of the relations between continuous and discontinuous, quantitative and qualitative, intensive and extensive.

The unity of the general and particular has been a prevailing idea of the RCP thinking in the period opened by the 9th Congress. In this sense, criticism was levelled at the theory of the "single model" of socialist construction, a profoundly non-dialectical theory that privileged a particular form turning it into general, into universal, ignoring or underrating the multitude of other particular, specific forms—an expression of every people's original capability of historical creation. Even when the theory of the "single model", rejected by life, was given a less blunt form it retained its noxious character. Therefore, the criticism levelled by the RCP proved to be of outstanding importance, as it reinstated the live, revolutionary dialectics, a dialectics which is one with the very truth of life and does not change into a lifeless, justificative formula.

The RCP principled stand retains its topical character even in the conditions of the "model" proclaimed as universal prototype being subject to often violent criticism, considering the tendency that sometimes emerges to dogmatize, to absolutize that criticism and to mistake some errors for the very essence of socialism. As President Nicolae Ceausescu stresses: "it is not socialism that has led to some negative states of affairs in one country or another, but the violation of the scientific principles of socialism, the disregarding of the requirements of the objective laws and, first of all, of the necessity of continued development of the productive forces—the decisive revolutionary factor of socialist construction just as, in fact, of the development of any social system".

Stressing the importance of the peculiarities of development of every people, of every country on the socialist way, the RCP asserts, in a dialectical spirit, the existence of general laws and principles that are manifest in various forms. They express the very essence of socialism as a system free of exploitation, the development and improvement of which, resting on the state and cooperative state property, have to ensure the accomplishment at ever higher levels of justice and equity, of social and national freedom, to close any way for the recurrence of various forms of oppression.

Such a live, concrete dialectics, that expresses the fast rates, the new problems of our epoch, the heat of the events and the requirements of moulding the people, is an essential aspect of the new revolutionary thinking.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 28 Jan-3 Feb

AU0502180789

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 28 January-3 February period (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu received CPSU's V.A. Medvedev, in Bucharest on 31 January. (1544 GMT 31 Jan 89) He received Iraqi foreign minister, Sa'dun Hammadi, on 1 February. (1515 1 Feb 89) and on the same day, he received a Finnish journalist and granted him an interview. (1514 GMT 1 Feb 89) Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a PEC meeting in Bucharest, on 3 February. (1851 GMT 3 Feb 89)

PEC Member Constantin Olteanu held talks with CPSU's Medvedev in Bucharest on 31 January. (1725 GMT 31 Jan 89)

Further Coverage of LCY Plenum Speeches

Pancevski Delivers Address

AU0202191389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 89 p 3

[Report on speech by Milan Pancevski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 31 January]

[Text] At this moment, Milan Pancevski stressed, we do not seem to be sufficiently aware of our historical responsibility for the fate of the country as a whole and each people separately. Therefore, I believe that each of us must rise above the situation of the moment and especially above narrow interests, as well as above the political passions that are present. I think that everybody who fails to muster the strength for this will objectively have to leave this forum and the LC in general sooner or later, whether of his own will or under the pressure of grave problems. This applies to all the republican and provincial leaderships, too.

Pancevski asked what we are actually stumbling over in this country and what the actuall causes of our quarrels are, and why we do not implement the party stances more resolutely. He answered that the basic and essential cause that particularly concerns the LCY is the significant devaluation of workers class and self-managing interests in overall social relations.

In places where delays have occurred, there have objectively been grave cadre and political rifts in various parts of the LCY and the country, including in this context the LCY Central Committee, the members of its Presidium, and even several presidents. I am stating this for a single reason: to make the urgent question of the LCY's cadre renewal as acute as possible.

Because of the constant delays in and absence of a critical reappraisal of the policy and practice, and of a radical cadre renewal, for instance in Kosovo after 1968 and after 1981, and continuing today, we cannot still the counterrevolution in Kosovo, Pancevski stressed. A typical illustration of this premise can be found in constant delays in calling to account the political cadres in Kosovo and beyond, despite the clear stances of the 9th and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee. It is obvious that certain forces in many communities, including the Central Committee itself and its presidium, and the constant and persistent launching of quite different assessments of the situation in Kosovo, despite the clear assessments by the LCY Central Committee, as well as attempts to prevent the question of Fadilj Hodza's responsibility being raised at the 11th LCY Central Committee session stand behind this.

Shared Responsibility for an Erroneous Policy in Kosovo

I am deeply convinced that the attempts to oppose my opening speech at that session, Pancevski said, were only a pretext for preventing at any cost the question of Fadilj Hodza's responsibility, and thus also of the responsibility of other ideological leaders of Albanian nationalism and separatism, being raised. He and others in Kosovo and beyond are objectively responsible for the entire erroneous policy in the field of interethnic relations in Kosovo, which means the Albanization of Kosovo and the escalation of Albanian nationalism and separatism in Yugoslavia at large; making the province into a state and introducing gross statism in it; the nonimplementation of togetherness in the SR of Serbia and the nonimplementation of Serbia's functions on its entire territory; and the pursuit, over many years, of a cadre policy that served in a practical way the implementation of the aims of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

This was also motivated, Pancevski said, by the fear that one might raise the question of shared responsibility for such an erroneous policy in Kosovo that was conducted over a long period, and for the nonimplementation of the Kosovo political platform. An even greater paradox is that entire leaderships in the country are falling because of Kosovo, but it is impossible or very difficult to implement ideopolitical differentiation in the LC of Kosovo on the platform of the LCY stands that are very clear.

Divisions Lead to Self-Destruction

Bearing all this in mind, Pancevski continued, I think that we must urgently implement the conclusions of the 17th session on cadre renewal. In addition to the changes on the basis of the principle on incompatibility of functions, all those who are burdened with the ballast of an erroneous policy from another period must also depart from the political scene without delay. They are the ones who have contributed and continue to contribute to blocking the LC's activities because of personal, egoistical, and biased reasons, and especially the ones who have done so because bureaucratic statis and other negative views.

It must be absolutely clear to the LCY that a continuation of such divisions and of giving absolute priority to egoistic interests merely leads to the self-destruction of each part of this community, and that in this way we are doping ourselves by joining in the artificial and short-lived pleasure of feudal, local, and egoistic interests.

In Pancevski's opinion, the frequent invocations of Europe, the processes in it, and its democratization give the impression of heavy-handed demagoguery, when at the same time we are working in a completely different direction here or there. In such a context, the absurd

beliefs, relations, and practice mean a gross devaluation of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] precepts.

It is of fateful importance for the entire LCY and our society that this Central Committee and its Presidium should strengthen ideologically and politically, that they should regain their authority as the highest LCY organ, and that they should build and impelment the set policy on this basis. In order to achieve this, Pancevski thinks, we must urgently and specifically carry out the cadre renewal in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium at today's session and, if need be, urgently convene another session so that this task may be completely accomplished. We must open up a process of clear ideopolitical identification and of an evaluation of how each member of the Central Committee and its Presidium implements his attitude toward the set policy of this Central Committee, but we should not do so in the way this was done at the 17th session, through a vote of confidence in the Presidium members, which essentially suspended the principle of criticism and self-criticism, and of personal responsibility. On this basis, one should extend the process of ideopolitical differentiation, responsibility, and renewal as a continuous process, Milan Pancevski concluded.

Radisa Gacic Gives Talk

AU0302115389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 89 p 10

[Report on speech by Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee, at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 31 January: "The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Is Obliged To Assess the November Events in Kosovo as Soon as Possible"]

[Text] Speaking about the situation in Kosovo as a member of the working group, Radisa Gacic said:

"We have been faced in political practice with an extremely irresponsible attitude of individuals and even of whole organs of the LC, and occurrences of defensiveness and opportunism and even of open resistance in the implementation of the stands of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee. This was a great hindrance in achieving the essential degree of unity in the Kosovo LC and its organs in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism, in the struggle against the counterrevolution.

"Because of the unacceptably irresponsible preparations of the provincial committee session, arising from pronounced defensiveness, opportunism, and lack of readiness to establish individual accountability on the one hand, and from the express demands of the LCY organs and organs of the Serbian LC that the tasks of the 17th session must be realized in their entirety on the other hand, the impression was created among the Kosovo public that pressure was being put on the leadership of the Kosovo LC and individuals in it, especially those cadres of Albanian nationality, to submit their resignations."

Dealing with the November demonstrations in Pristina, Gacic said:

"Assessing that most responsibility for these events and their unforeseeable political consequences is borne by the political organs and the organs of power in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and especially the Provincial Committee and the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the LCY Central Committee Presidium at that time for the umpteenth time announced and demanded that concrete measures for establishing accountability be taken for every occurrence of deviation, slowness, hesitation, and opportunism in implementing the LCY stands on Kosovo, and that the broadest political action be initiated among communists in the workers class and among all working people in Kosovo and above all among those from the ranks of ethnic Albanians; to create a united socialist front of members of all nationalities in Kosovo to particularly direct LC activity toward an interpretation of the significance of constitutional changes, along with an affirmation of the ideological and political views which were endorsed in the LCY concerning these very important political issues. It was also demanded that by involving the competent organs in the province and the SR of Serbia and the Federation, the causes and organizers of these rallies and demonstrations be established without delay, and ideopolitical differentiation be carried out in the provincial committee, followed by cadre renewal in the Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

"Since this was again lacking, the LCY Central Committee Presidium also endorsed specific working conclusions on which the Kosovo LC Central Committee Presidium were immediately briefed, and whose implementation was discussed on 12 January 1989," said Gacic.

According to him, the lack of clear assessments from the provincial committee in maintaining certain reservations toward the assessments and stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, causes confusion and vagueness among the LC membership and the wider public, leads to further slowness, allows an irresponsible attitude in work, and, what is worst of all, continues to divide people on a national basis.

Because of this, assessments of these events in the Kosovo LC should be reached as soon as possible, and their initiators and organizers discovered. Therefore, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is faced with the duty to completely assess as soon as possible everything that happened in November in Kosovo and then establish the responsibility of members of the Presidium and the provincial committee for failure to implement the tasks

of the 9th, 16th, and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee, also bearing in mind the attitude toward the protest meetings and demonstrations. This is also required of the communal committees and basic organizations of the LC and other institutions of the system, as well as a complete cadre renewal, primarily in the Kosovo LC, said Gacic.

Stressing that it had been shown that it was bad that a joint session of the three Presidiums of the LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee had not been held after the 17th session, or that that had not been done even after the gatherings and demonstrations in November, as joint assessments would have been reached in this way, which would have made everyone responsible and would have not allowed the provincial committee and its Presidium to postpone their own obligations, to continue with their different interpretations of events, and to extend the possibility for postponing action because of the existing differences.

Concluding his speech, Gacic said:

"Can and should the LCY Central Committee Presidium be satisfied with warnings about these circumstances, criticisms, and the further endorsement of new assessments without these being realized? Furthermore, could the LCY Central Committee remain on the sidelines, without becoming more decisively involved, or should the Central Committee itself initiate more resolute action against organs and individuals in them who have an irresponsible attitude toward tasks, an attitude which has in the case of Kosovo been drastic for a long time?"

Ckrebic Makes Appearance

AU0302191189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 89 p 4

[Report on speech by Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on the 2d day of the LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 31 January: "One Cannot Live in a Federation and Behave in an Intolerant and Self-Sufficient Way"]

[Text] The expectations that the situation in the country would improve after the 17th session have not come true. It is only normal to question why. The economic situation has worsened under the influence of the persisting unfavorable trends from the previous period. The measures undertaken in the sphere of current economic policy could not stop this because they lacked the the necessary strength. Since last fall, the FEC has been focusing its efforts on drafting the concept of the economic reform, a fully understandable effort. There were some improvements in the financial position of the economy in the entire country, but they were short-lived and quickly destroyed by inflation. In such a situation, the LCY Central Committee used political means to stimulate the work on constitutional changes and the economic reform, inciting a resolute LCY orientation toward approaching the economic reform as one of the indispensable key steps in finding the way out of the crisis, Dusan Ckrebic said at the beginning of his speech, and added:

It is in this context that one should accept and interpret the 19th session of the LCY Central Committee, whose significance lies in its messages that one should turn to reform and economic operations. Therefore, one must point out the importance and positive impact of the 19th Central Committee session and the Central Committee's efforts in making the economic reform our main working, political, and overall preoccupation.

However, this was not enough, therefore, political tension increased and disbelief about finding the way out of the crisis justifiably increased. What is this all about? The economic policy presented for 1989 lacks the support of some of the republics and provinces, and the FEC submits its resignation. New laws which should serve to format the economic reform are accumulating at the SFRY Assembly's door. Only the laws on enterprises, investment, and planning were adopted. All the others were left out either because they are insufficiently elaborated and contain conceptual inconsistencies, or because the SFRY Assembly constitutes a "bottleneck." The FEC has been plodding through its duties as a government that had resigned. One can say that the economic reform has remained in front of the Assembly's door in Revolution Boulevard, but one can also say that it has started. When one adds here the increase in the prices of many items, especially consumer goods, the weak social measures to curb the prices charged by big business systems (electric power, coal, postal, telephone, and telegraph services, railroad transportation) which were undertaken by the FEC are forgotten in a few days. A number of major questions pertaining to our country's economic policy in 1989 are dealt with only by temporary measures and solutions. As you can see, problems are accumulating in this sphere, Ckrebic pointed out.

However, this is only the beginning of the broad discontent of the people, workers class, citizens, and young people, I would say simply everybody. The main discontent reached its culmination in the social and political sphere. At the same time, the institutions of our system show extraordinary resistance, so it is a small wonder that thousands, even hundreds of thousands of people are gathering in front of them. They derive their indifference from both their inexhaustible bureaucratic nature and from the electoral system which does not make them confront their own voters. Hence, the numerous demands for direct elections and changes in that respect. Please allow me to briefly touch upon several more questions.

We Started Using the Language of Our Opponents

First, I am firmly convinced that we, the Yugoslav communists, possess the strength, will, energy, and responsibility to carry out the Yugoslav synthesis of key

interests, tasks, and trends and to do so in the economic, political, and ideological spheres, but we have not noticed that we have started to use the language of our opponents. Hence, the "breakdown of Yugoslavia," the breakup of the LCY, the "unrestrainable disintegration process," "inevitability of interethnic conflicts," "poisonous nationalist passions," and the like feature not only in our language, but also in our thoughts.

What kind of mud-slinging competition is this, a competition which either causes a headache or leaves one indifferent and inured to our well-known drama? The only thing I know for sure is that Yugoslavia will not perish. It seems that there is now a competition to find as many conflicts as possible and to confront one kind of forces with the other, the latter, as a rule, being backward and retrograde. It is obvious that there are differences in the LCY and beyond, in society. However, differences have always existed and will always exist. Our problem in the present times is that we are slow in identifying them and even slower in overcoming them. Instead of putting these differences on the agenda, particularly those that are especially important for our social development, we let them cause mass confrontations and polarizations. It would probably be best if this Central Committee were to demand that we return to these differences and solve them systematically. These polarizations are always more dangerous in multinational communities than in those with nationally homogeneous populations.

Let us discuss open questions and differences in a civilized way and through a democratic procedure, even when we do so in the LC. The calls for a final settling of accounts and definite separation sound somewhat outdated. I am convinced that there are no differences that Yugoslav Communists are incapable of overcoming; of course, respecting equality and the strength of well-argued reasoning. We have to accustom our ears and minds to reasoning and patience.

We must create, as soon as possible, the political prerequisites for the new FEC, in order to make it able to function. The FEC is facing huge tasks pertaining to both current economic policy and entire economic reform. One must concentrate efforts and forces with a view to stimulating economic currents and restoring lost confidence in people and institutions. This Central Committee itself can and must create the prerequisites for finding the way out of the crisis.

FEC Should Expect but Also Ask for the Help of the LC and the LCY Central Committee

The FEC would have to create room for the economic reform and successful business operations that seek maximum support in the SFRY Constitution. In those points where it feels that it is constrained by the Constitution, it should resolutely demand coordination among republics and provinces, if this is of decisive importance for success. It should normally expect help from the LCY and from this Central Committee, particularly when political support is needed, but it should also ask for it. Of course, it should also ask others for help. This is where one can see what are the reform-oriented and what are the antireform forces and types of behavior. There are no patterns which have practical value in advance, particularly not people's own proclamations that they favor the economic reform, which gives the impression that somebody else does not. Of course, the public must be informed about everybody's behavior.

Second, let us take up the complex task of reforming the political system and work on all these questions that represent the basis and foundation for the new constitution.

Regardless of when we hold it, the congress should sanction the political platform for the new constitution. Differences could be expressed here, but let us not run away from them nor proclaim them as insoluble too quickly . If we proceed from the fact that we are all equal, if we adhere to the principle of rationality but also of unavoidable particularity, we will create conditions for a constructive rapprochement. If we keep in mind a united Europe as a realistic and serious fact, we will probably also behave in a civilized way ourselves. However, we cannot only talk about and desire Europe, we have to behave in a European way. Let us perfect our federation as a joint achievement and a joint home. It is not the thing to do, live in a federation and behave in an exclusive, selfish way.

Finally, we are entering a reform of the LCY and we have certain deadlines in this respect. I must say that I have the impression that interest in this subject has just begun to be aroused. There are too few elements, too little new content, too few expressed opinions in order for fronts to be created in the LCY of those who support reform of the LCY and those who support the old relations and the commanding role of the party, of the party in power, and so on. I firmly believe that reform of the LCY is one of the most complex issues in social reform. Democratic processes in our society are rushing to approach the reform of the party in an effective and comprehensive way. I say comprehensive so that, from the beginning, there can be no dispute over fragments and details. To tell the truth, all parties with a socialist orientation in Europe are today very intensively concerned with their future and the programs that they are offering for the future, because they care about young people, the intelligentsia, industrial workers, small businessmen, and agricultural workers. Therefore, they care about the majority but also about how to approach this majority and with what: What should they offer and in which way, without betraying their programmic orientation? We must also finally rouse ourselves from the nonchalance of a party with many of the prerogatives of power and the state. Let us create a climate of reform of the LC in which every part of the LC will bring the product of its practice, intellect, experience, and collective thought at least into

this founding fund of ideas and proposals. How would someone be progressive in advance and someone else backward in advance? asked Ckrebic.

How would someone at the very beginning want to describe Serbia with its rich democratic tradition or even Vojvodina, as one of its parts, with its rich cultural tradition and inheritance as "one" or "another," because even these "others" can say of the "first" ones: This is not my LC. What do we do then? Let us not rush into our exclusivities. Let us not criticize each other at the very beginning. Who will we be with, if not with each other? I am not a skeptic when it comes to reform of the LC. I am more worried about the exclusivity of the protagonists of democracy, because if they are real protagonists of democracy then exclusivity should be alien to them, Dusan Ckrebic concluded.

Azem Vlasi Speech

AU0402204089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 89 p 2

[Report on speech by Azem Vlasi, member of the LCY Central Committee, at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 31 January: "To Subdue Passions"]

[Text] The question of the responsibility of this Central Committee and its Presidium for the situation in the LC and the country has been greatly stressed in recent days. Could these organs act more efficiently within these relations in the LC and in the country? I think not. They cannot do so while the position and the role of the LCY leadership is objectively defined by and dependent on the situation, relations, and conduct in parts of the LCY, that is in the LC's of the republics and provinces. These relations and this behavior in parts of the LCY are largely only copied here. We are creating the illusion among the public that the problem is in the leadership, when in fact we do not allow the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium to behave and act in a Yugoslav way, and to express in the right sense what we have always verbally advocated: the synthesis of realistic joint Yugoslav interests.

It is a dangerous phenomenon to only point out the nationalism of another community and of another nation. It seems from what we are saying today about nationalism that it exists and that it at least exists, how can I say, in our community. The most skillful way of avoiding the struggle against nationalism is in fact to point the finger only at nationalism in another community. While we Communists behave in such a way toward primarily our own nationalism, I fear that it will escalate to such an extent that we will all one day be victims of that escalation together. I think that it is high time that we subdue the passions that flare up mainly in the mutual settling of accounts. We zealously put our own information media at the service of this, although we have decided that we should implement reforms through a united front of action. A militant vocabulary and style alien to the democratic essence of the LC have thus entered our tribunals.

This seriously threatens democratic dialogue and methods of clearing up problems and disputes, and lowers it to the depths of cultured political dialogue.

Lolic Addresses Meeting

AU0502165889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 89 p 3

[Report of speech by Marko Lolic, member of the LCY Central Committee, at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 31 January: "Too Many Storms Have Been Sown"]

[Text] This is no time to produce new crises in order to fish in troubled waters as much as possible for the benefit of one's own voice, project, dictate, stand, and perhaps even a sincere, but limited idea or its manipulated promotion in the form of the "people's will" and national programs and confrontations which are always painful and almost tragic under circumstances like ours. As the people say, whoever sows the wind reaps the whirlwind, and in our country, after the 17th session, too much whirlwind has been sown, along with all its restless lacerations and destruction. It is no longer a question of will or choice whether this can be brought to an end. That is an order of the times; this simply has to be done and that is our obligation. In this front of renewal, greater initiatives, and the unavoidable responsibilities of a deepened democracy and freer economy, those who act under the eaves of nationalism; those who unconditionally offer their stand as the single general stand; those who ignore the real feeling and tendency among the people and the workers class; who postpone everything or put on political airs; who are hostile to any hint of criticism and who are merciless to others and their failings cannot really be real advocates for and proponents of these inevitable changes and greater democratic unity in action and the democratic development of our country.

Indeed, our Central Committee has the greatest responsibility for the state of relations in our party and in our country. This is clear, but it really cannot completely and successfully bear this responsibility by itself if the leaderships of the LC's of the republic and provinces do not at the same time actively contribute to the work, unity, action, and standing of the LCY and the LCY Central Committee, and we see that that is often the case. Responsibility is greatest here and cannot be avoided, but it is not democratic or responsible or according to the statute to frequently look on this forum and treat it almost like one that gets in the way, so that—rather like in a supermarket—one can take from its united stands and established policy only what is suitable and reject

something else, pass over in silence some points, and directly dispute others. This is the way, comrades, to produce ideological and political chaos.

To allow nationalism or to see only nationalism in others would be naive, cynical, and dangerous, and it does not matter which nationalism this may be. In this respect, communist Albanians have special and great obligations and responsibilities at present. But so have others in Serbia and Croatia, in Macedonia and Slovenia, in Montenegro and elsewhere and everywhere. We have no right to allow any attempt at destroying the political and territorial system in Yugoslavia.

It is time for this country to say another historic "no," this time to the forces of internal disintegration, so that the negative chain of events may be cut, and so that the positive energy of the Communists and of millions of people of this country who want to build for their own happiness and the happiness of others may be kindled and spread. This means that the forces of the economy and social reform, of unity and democracy, reconstruction and progress, and the forces of victory over the crisis should be brought to the forefront. The work of the Central Committee and of the central and provincial committees must serve this purpose.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Dangerous Fires

Who does profit from poisonous statements that the Serbs in Lika and Dalmatia have less rights than those in Kosovo or the Arabs in Israel? This kindles dangerous fires in the SR of Croatia and in our country. It is also clear, and I want to be clear in this respect, that one cannot react to such and similar insolent provocations by frightening people with the general danger of the Serbs in Serbia as a people and as a republic. Paying back in the same coin helps nationalism and leads to disorder. (Marko Lolic)

Petar Matic on Unity

AU0502172789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 89 p 3

[Report on speech by Petar Matic, member of the LCY Central Committee and former president of the Veterans Organization; "No Winners or Losers"; at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 31 January]

[Text] Unity in Yugoslavia—not only in the LC, but also in our community—is being truly threatened, and we know by whom and how. The unfortunate thing is that we do not want to speak about it openly among us, Petar Matic said. There is no doubt that the Presidium and its president bear responsibility for this situation. However, I think that the prime responsibility lies with us in the LCY Central Committee, and in the republican and provincial committees, mainly because the major events that took place—or that pointed to various events that were in contradiction with the main LCY's course, the character of the state, the community, with relations in it, and with various other questions—were not put on the agenda. The time went by while we were trying to avoid discussions and pretended that we did not hear or see anything. It is therefore understandable why what happened did happen.

What I think is particularly worrying is that in a part of our LC organization, the practice of witchhunting, name calling, and accusations that reached unprecedented proportions and are still being made were legalized. Only those who organized these witchhunts know their purpose. There is no doubt that they have been well organized and conducted. We are all witnesses to that. Some people will admit this, others will not. The accusations against the Presidium and accusations that have recently been heard against Suvar also represent an integral part of these witchhunts. What is behind these accusations? Everybody in Yugoslavia is guilty of being problematic and suspicious; they are Ustashas, members of the White Guard, and the Ballists, and only we Serbs are right. However, there is no supportive evidence for these accusations. What has also happened is the emergence of some kind of mythomania, according to which one nation has all the qualities while others have none. There is no need to talk about where all this is leading us to. It is sad as well as dangerous that the people at this session have not expressed readiness to see and admit this, or at least to silently indicate that we will no longer behave in this way.

The character of our society, which is a complex multinational community, calls for a prudent approach: that we should not extensively discuss who is right and who is not. In the LCY, there can be winners or losers. Only LC policy and Yugoslavia can win. We must make sure that Yugoslavia wins. In this sense we should find a synthesis which will ensure our orientation toward real issues.

This is why I think that at this session it is important to establish a platform which will unite us. All the comrades present here, leading comrades from the republics, except Comrade Milosevic, and comrades from Titograd and Vojvodina, said that the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] constitutes this platform. Only on this basis can we build unity and develop programs and actions. Without this, without this platform, we are going to plunge further into disaster.

Ivica Racan Speaks

AU0602191189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 89 p 5

[Report on speech by Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 1 February: "The Methods of Political Settling of Accounts Must Have Their Limit"]

[Text] There is something that we Yugoslav Communists, who swear by some kind of tradition, some kind of

continuity, must not betray, either consciously or unconsciously. Our party behaved both humanely toward those who made mistakes, and in a principled way toward those who were, without supportive evidence, accused of having made mistakes. Who has the right to pull the party and this leadership below such a historic and revolutionary level, no matter how much he pledged allegiance to whatever principles and shouting whatever slogans? When attacks, criticisms, and denials are made, these principles and slogans have to be backed by arguments.

Comrades, we as the leadership must not sink below the lowest level of dignity. The methods of political settling of accounts in the LC must have their limit. Not everything is allowed. I told some comrades in the Presidium, to Comrade Sloba [Slobodan Milosevic] and others, what would happen if we accepted certain methods, where we would sink. What would it be like if I adopted the method of announcing from this rostrum what certain members of the Presidium told me on certain occasions, not only personally, but also in the presence of three, four, or ten people? I am against this method. It is not worthy of this leadership. All of us must be obliged to reject such a method at once. I am saying this as a man—a certain number of comrades know, and since our sessions are open, the public also knows that there have been too many calculation about this in the past. I am saying this a man who did not agree with Comrade Stipe Suvar on some issues. Many of you here also know this. We had some differences, even some essential differences, about some key issues and the situation in the party, and about the strategy of how to develop our socialism.

I still want to have this right to a different opinion, a right to retain the right to discuss things with my comrades in the forum, to disagree with them on certain issues. I do not want to be deprived of the right to a democratic dialogue in forums, the Presidium, and the Central Committee by these metaphors of unsubstantiated criticisms. I would be ashamed if I were not allowed to polemicize and discuss the things which we disagree about with some comrades. This does not help this Central Committee, this party, the quality of its composition, and its activity.

We extensively speak about various principles. Stipe Suvar and I belong to and come from the LC of Croatia. I have already mentioned that we have different views on some issues. Moreover, there have been some calculations about it in the public. Do you know what I would like to ask? Should we all not today be worried about the fact that differences and antagonisms in the LCY are expressed in terms of clashes between parts of the LC, and the republican and provincial party organizations? I believe in the democratization of the party life only to the extent to which we have the right to have different views in the LC of Zagreb, in the LC of Belgrade....

We know what the right to one truth and only one view meant in the history of the communist and revolutionary movement, and what kind of silence it led to during Stalin's time. What we need during complicated times and the times of serious problems is to face different views so that in these confrontations with different views we can improve our views, so that we can then lead the people in the battle to reform socialism in an ideological way. Therefore, the method of political settling of accounts among us is not a technical question. I have nothing against well-argued discussions about others, including Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium. However, all of us can and must think about the consequences if there is no trust in the LC. All the possible denials—we are using serious words—of not only work, activities, and a moral image must be based on some elementary facts. We in the Presidium—and this was clearly stated, not disputing the statutory legality of the comrades from the Vojvodina at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC—only demanded supportive evidence for such serious qualifications. Serious qualifications and assessments must be supported. The quarrels among the peoples in this country cannot only end with political consequences. This is too serious an accusation, even in a criminal proceeding. Proof must be shown. This is too serious an accusation. Therefore, if possible, I propose that this Central Committee opt for a tolerant, well-argued dialogue based on facts, for a critical assessment by each one of us, and to undertake a obligation to reject the pogrom methods which are not in the spirit of the revolutionary tradition of this party, and especially not to use these methods itself, directly or indirectly. Let this be a contribution to the LC to overcome the crisis that is also noted for its mercilessness, and for political showdowns in the moral sense of the word, showdowns which threaten to dominate the LC. This must also be the obligation of this Central Committee.

First Day of LCY Plenum Assessed

AU0202164289 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 31 Jan 89 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Danilo Slivnik: "Blockade—First Day"]

[Text] If we exempt a few introductory disagreements about the adoption of the agenda, on which occasion the advocates of extra-institutional changes were quieted with unusual speed, the first day of the plenum was rather quiet and, for the majority of people, probably plain boring; everybody talked about the necessity of definitely clearing up the situation in the Yugoslav party, but nobody started this clearing up.

It is difficult to say quickly what the reason is, but it is almost impossible to shed the impression that many people are much more worried by the consequences to which the clearing up may lead than by the clearing up itself. It is, of course, possible to understand this, for in a state in which the most varied unacceptable demands have been in circulation for such a long time, and threats of special measures are incessantly being paraded, one must probably bear everything in mind constantly, particularly possible further political complications. The

contradiction in the present LCY position lies precisely in the fact that the LC is dangerous in any case, even if its protagonists completely block each other and do not do anything anywhere.

Of course, we would be somewhat unjust if we said that in the discussion yesterday we did not hear anything that was acceptable and usable. In many respects (especially in regard to the pluralistic reality of Yugoslav society). This was the case with Stipe Suvar's opening report, as well as some other speeches, which were against simplification and a senseless uniformity of ideology and action in the LCY. One should also add the speech by Milan Kucan, who stated quite clearly those respects in which the LC of Slovenia will cooperate and in which it will not, and who did not precisely give the impression that he was in favor of a long-term compromise. This (while we wait for the discussion today) is not completely without importance.

Suvar Speaks on Macedonian Nationalism

AU2401183489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jan 89 p 6

[Speech by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 113th session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in Belgrade on 20 December 1989]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] It seems to me that the subject of interethnic relations is sensitive in Macedonia as regards both the past and the present. This is because the Macedonian people have been threatened throughout history and, to a certain extent, are still threatened today by the nationalisms of four surrounding peoples: the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, and Albanians. All this has not been overcome by history and has not even been overcome by current issues of everyday politics regarding interethnic circumstances: Greece does not want to recognize the Macedonian nation at all, Bulgaria also does not want to recognize the Macedonian nation not even in Macedonia and denies the existence of a Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria. Then, Albanian nationalism has a plan to expand, interfere, and advance. The classic type of Serbian nationalism is demonstrated in failure to recognize the autocephaly of the Macedonian church in the last 2 decades or so, and even involves details about removing and placing plaques in the Prohor Pcinjski monastery, and so on. All this is alive.

I would like to know if there are manifestations of Macedonian nationalism. It seems to me, as far as I follow how certain intellectuals react, that this also exists. How big this problem is in Macedonia itself, I do not know for sure.

When I mention all this, I would add that the position of the Albanian nationality in Macedonia is very sensitive. We all know that it enjoys constitutional, political, and other rights, therefore, we must be all the more cautious toward every possible formulation and procedure; so that we may not be wrongly interpreted in Yugoslavia due to inadequate information available to the public. For example, I know that there has now been reaction in certain parts of Yugoslavia to the proposed formulation, if it is proposed, of an amendment to the Constitution of the SR of Macedonia. This amendment would change the provision from the old constitution whereby the SR of Macedonia is a state of the Macedonian people and a state of Turkish and Albanian nationalities to the provision whereby it is a state of the Macedonian people and a sociopolitical community in which these nationalities also live.

None of us has the right to interfere in this, but we must take into account that the constitutions of our republics contain provisions stating that they are also states of all the nationalities which are represented in them in significant numbers. This is because these nationalities do not, of course, have other states apart from the joint state of Yugoslavia. Do not get me wrong, I have not studied this, but we should be extremely cautious in these sensitive matters. [passage omitted]

Comparison of Stipe Suvar Interview

AU2401182889

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 23 January on pages 1 and 3 carries a 2,000-word report attributed to TANJUG on the interview with Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in the "Interview of the Week" program, within the second news magazine of the Zagreb Television on 21 January.

The BORBA report has been compared with the TANJUG Domestic Service Serbo-Croatian version published in the 23 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 73, 74, and 75, revealing the following variations:

Page 73, column one, paragraph three, last sentence reads: ...on reasoned argument. [new paragraph] This was what Stipe Suvar said at the beginning of an interview that Zagreb television broadcast in the second news magazine this evening in the "Interview of the Week" program. This was a part of his answer to the question asked by Zagreb television editor Ankica Barbir-Mladenovic about what he felt about the unprecedented wave of criticism directed against him from various parts of the country. [new paragraph] What is new... (supplying BORBA passage)

Same page, column two, antepenultimate paragraph, from sentence one to sentence two reads... longer. A tension has arisen in... (rephrasing; supplying indistinct word)

Page 75, column one, last paragraph, last sentence to column two, first paragraph, first sentence reads... issue of 'PRAVOSLAVLJE.' [new paragraph] Therefore, an ustasha is said to be the head of the party and the head of a hostile coalition, and when the people in some parts of

the country hear that many times—whatever their national affiliation and personal beliefs—you know how the people are when they hear the same thing from day to day, from hour to hour—then their justified anger arises and they demand that that man step down, whoever he may be. [new paragraph] The people are... (supplying BORBA passage)

Markovic Comments on Reform Before Leadership

LD0102233189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—There are no reforms unless we implement deregulation and unless we take some of the authority from the executive organs and the Assembly as well, Ante Markovic, the mandatory of the new government, stressed in this evening's talks with Spasoje Medenica, vice president of the SFRY Assembly, and its top leadership.

This evening's meeting is one in a series preceding the talks in the republics and provinces, after which Markovic will put together his proposal for the future team of his colleagues. It was agreed that on 15 February, the mandatory will meet in the SFRY Assembly with the delegates of both chambers to exchange views on the guidelines for future cooperation.

In Markovic's opinion, a transformation in the administration is essential, and it is also vital to prevent political voluntarism from controlling society through the executive organs. The FEC and the SFRY Assembly must have their stances. If we are constantly "covered" by some third opinion, there will be no success, Markovic believes.

There is no time for any kind of transitionary period, and so in his opinion, a combination of measures of current and developmental policy is necessary. We must proceed, in parallel, with short-term and long-term policy, because if we do not, the people will not "tolerate things" for long, the mandatory stressed. He stressed in particular that in order to halt erosion, pwoerful support is needed in terms of funds from abroad. It is not a matter of funds which will be taken by the state, but by the economy—not on a credit basis, but on the basis of investment. The smaller part of our work is in lawmaking and the biggest part is in practice, Markovic stressed.

DELO Views Markovic FEC Program

AU0202112389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Jan 89 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Janja Klasinc: "Economy Before Politics"]

[Text] Ante Markovic presented his program in an extremely difficult economic situation, in which the standard of living is falling day by day, and more and more people see no personal prospects for themselves whatever. The political situation is even worse, for it has become obvious that the conflict of two political and development concepts in the Yugoslav party has reached its culmination.

These are the circumstances under which the 20th LCY Central Committee session will begin today. It is probably no secret that Ante Markovic's program outline will depend on how matters are resolved at that session. Although we had expected such a program from Markovic, its Saturday presentation lit a ray of hope in our darkness, which has lasted too long. There is the hope that perhaps we will sometime again be able to compete with the developed world, and not just think about surviving, and also hope that in 5 or 10 years' time, having fuller stomachs, we will get less consumed with political passions and less subjected to well prepared quarrel scenarios.

Ante Markovic, of course, is not a savior. He is a man who knows about the economy and who could be quite successful, particularly if he is able to put together his government in the way he plans, and if he is helped in all the republics and provinces. It is, of course, also clear that some people perhaps were not enthusiastic about Markovic's presentation on Saturday. However, this is the last chance for our economic reform, regardless of the fact that some people will continue to be "fans" of administrative socialism at the LCY Central Committee session today.

Assembly Committee Criticizes Police

LD2401224589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (TANJUG)—Delegates of the Assembly of Yugoslavia domestic-policy committee today reproached the federal police for classifying as a state secret a report about the demonstrations staged by ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo last November.

The committee delegates, who were only partically acquainted with the report today, insisted that they be informed in full with the contents of the document before it is put to a discussion in the Assembly Federal Chamber.

Speaking about the federal police report on the background of the November demonstrations of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, in which 50 or so names are listed, as has been learned, delegate Branko Kostic said that the demonstrations were aimed against the implementation of the conclusions adopted at the 17th session of the Yugoslav Party Central Committee and against a revision of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. Kostic said that public security, and not state security, forces had failed to do their work and that it was now known that figures prominent in economic, public, cultural and political affairs had been among the organizers of the demonstrations staged by over 100,000 ethnic Albanians in Kosovo's capital of Pristina and other towns.

Delegates of the Assembly of Yugoslavia domestic-policy committee assessed that the security situation in the Republic of Montenegro was relatively good, that there were no particular excesses there and that public law and order were satisfactory. The leadership of Monetengro, Yugoslavia's least developed republic, was compelled to resign after mass protest rallies in the republic last October and in early January this year.

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Undersecretary at the Republican Ministry of Interior of Montenegro Vladimir Kekovic, in informing the delegates about the security situation in this republic, said that individuals from among the ranks of domestic and external enemies together with the anti-self-management forces were trying hard to take advantage of the mounted social tensions in Montenegro and protest rallies. He said that the activities from the positions of chauvinism of all sorts were escalating, especially the Serbian, Albanian, Montenegrin and Moslem chauvinisms, and so were the activities of the bourgeois right.

Kekovic said that individuals, abusing the workers', youths' and students' discontent with social and economic positions, were associating for the purposes of taking workers to meetings in an organized way and holding more protest meetings. Kekovic stressed that it was undisputable that these individuals has established links with certain intellectuals and other citizens from other environments and especially from Pristina, Novi Sad, and Belgrade, who are acting from chauvinist positions. Among the members of organizing committees of protest rallies outside Titograd there were individuals who had earlier been punished. Among them, Kekovic pointed out, there were no individuals who had been "registered" because of hostile activities.

Federal Chamber Discusses Nationality Languages

LD2501205989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Delegates of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber today approved this assembly chamber's work program for the year and held a preliminary discussion on the theses for the elaboration of a law on the official use of nationality languages, which were put together by the Federal Secretariat for Legislation.

The adoption of three reform laws—the laws on accountancy, on financial affairs, and on banking—was removed from the agenda of today's session, which ended some time before 1600 because neither the proposer, the FEC, nor the assembly committees have succeeded in "mastering" the large number of amendments to these documents.

Commentary Views 'Corroding' Political System

AU2501125389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 89 p 2

[Ivan Torov commentary: "Captive of Delusions"]

[Text] After last week's events in Montenegro it is certain that we have again fallen with full force into a period of complete uncertainty about what sort of final denouement the already long Yugoslav social and political drama will have. This is primarily because our political area has been seized and, it could be said, simply occupied by additional confusion which in certain aspects borders on political chaos.

It is obvious that the existing political system, together with the LCY as its main lever, is slowly but surely corroding under assault from (un)predictable events; we are actually entering a year of reform without a government, and even the SFRY Presidency is at the end of its term of office with essentially reduced ambitions and authority; the crisis is already so deep that it could at any minute cause even more serious social unrest which could pull this country in quite undesirable directions; the Kosovo drama is going through a new period of complete interethnic division and confrontation....

One gets the impression that this country no longer seems to have anyone to lead it. More precisely, it is being lead by disunited, even dangerously belligerent republican leaderships, different ideas and ideological concepts, chaos in politics and economics, and opportunism.

What was coyly announced and forecast many years ago has to a not inconsiderable extent become reality: Under attack from its own federalization and later even confederalization, the LCY has found it increasingly difficult to perceive, react to, and provide answers to major social phenomena, contradictions, the challenges of the times and the crisis, and the growing dissatisfaction which, as we are witnessing, is daily turning into revolt. It has refused to speak critically about itself, believing that its historic, inherited merits are a sufficient guarantee that it can successfully continue to manage the unstable Yugoslav ship. In this self-satisfaction and in its increasingly aggressive desire to sustain its position as the party in power, the LC has gone so far that it has forgotten the factors of time, crisis, membership, and the people. When it was finally realized that one can no longer live according to the old political and organizational pattern of the activities of a state party, it was too late to correct much of this. From this not quite united LCY, tiny political republican-national parties were created which follow recipes that even the traditional multiparty developed countries are slowly abandoning as outmoded.

Balancing for years on the wire between the verbal advocacy of the creation of a new type of political movement and the actual preservation of its comfortable positions of power and strength, the LC became a captive of its delusions, prejudices, organization, and method of activity. Clearly, it is now impossible for it to leave this firm embrace without its own deep-rooted transformation, the daily receipt of increasingly strong blows, and without what is already generally taking place on the Yugoslav scene.

While many alternative political forces very ambitiously find roads and ways by which they will rally more and more disappointed people together, in which some of these demonstrate extraordinary elasticity and adaptability to the existing political relations with a long-term orientation to change them according to their own feelings and tastes, the LCY and its leaderships are showing chronic sluggishness and, it could be said, even disinterest, as if what is happening in society does not concern them at all. It leaves the initiative to others inside and outside its sections—which of course does not have to be bad—but it is not good that it does not promptly join in with challenges, demands, dissatisfaction, and new ideas by making its own creative contribution. It is the slave of old-fashioned organizational, statutory, and political stereotypes, most frequently demonstrating those characteristics that should not be appropriate to a progressive political movement; lack of readiness, nonadaptability, nonresourcefulness, opportunism, the fear of offending someone, noninvolvement, and, not infrequently, clumsiness in assessing, evaluating, and predicting events on the political scene.

In this context, no one is surprised any longer by the question which has conspicuously negative implications and which is being heard increasingly frequently—does a federal party leadership exist, if there was not a proper one during events in Kosovo, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vojvodina, Montenegro.... It is not surprising that the LCY Central Committee generally reacts to certain things after the event because few republican or provincial party leaderships, and even memberships, heed and respect its stands. It is not surprising that, torn between its statutory political role as the supreme party leadership and strong pressures from ideological patterns of its republican-provincial communities and leaderships, the LCY most frequently succumbs to the latter.

The logical epilogue to all this is the present not very envious position of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. At the moment when the party is preparing itself—albeit sluggishly and without a real concept—for its own transformation, its highest leadership is in a situation which in many respects resembles the disintegration of the system. Even six of its usual members have had to abdicate for various reasons but most often under pressure from events and criticism in their own and other communities and, instead of some presidents of republican-provincial LC organizations, the Presidium has "temporary" cadre solutions which creates insurmountable difficulties for this organ and leads it to the edge of a statutory blockage in its work.

Even when it was complete, it found it difficult to cope with waves of dissatisfaction and revolt and various cases of the moral failings of individuals within it and outside it. The express desire of the Presidium members to work in a collective way, very quickly melted into domination by individual republican-provincial party interests with no hope of reaching some kind of Yugoslav political synthesis and rallying around it. Burdened by mutual disagreements, conflicts, major ideological differences, and irreconcilable distrust which from time to time exploded in relations between individuals and groups, the Presidium most often reached out for short-term compromises (which no one was happy with) or became an arena for the further separation of political divisions and passions.

People are now clearly talking about a congress to be held before the statutory deadline, however demands have recently become louder for an extraordinary congress to be held sooner which is justified by the present situation that both in the LCY and in some of its parts normal conditions for activity do not exist and that the latest events actually eliminated some republican-provincial leaderships which could undoubtedly happen very soon to the leadership of the LCY Central Committee itself. Could an LCY extraordinary congress be the right cure for all ills or will the very thought of it be the occasion for an escalation of a confrontation which started a long time ago and which has now become quite intensified? The days to come will definitely show this. In any case, daily life against political will is writing new dramas....

Further Reportage of Italy's Andreotti Visit

Toast Exchanged With Loncar

LD0102222589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Italy have opened their borders to one another and are developing meaningful relations; they have good reason to be proud of their good-neighborly relations. This was stressed today by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, in his toast delivered at the luncheon he gave in honor of Giulio Andreotti, Italian foreign minister.

Loncar said that there was scope for even broader and more comprehensive bilateral relations and that "anything that is good can be even better."

As an example of what Yugoslavia and Italy are sharing, Budimir Loncar mentioned the Mediterranean, among other things. "We would like, and on this we are in agreement, for the Mediterranean to become as wide and

as expansive as possible for the cooperation of all riparian countries—a sea of peace, security, and progress for everyone", added the federal secretary of foreign affairs. More directly, the two countries are linked by the Adriatic, which both the SFRY and Italy are naturally interested in having become even more beautiful and attractive and "a genuine link in the chain of all-European ties".

Speaking of the qualities "of the new dialogue" in international relations, Loncar pointed out that Belgrade and Rome provided a clear example for the promotion of understanding in the world. He positively assessed the results of the Vienna CSCE meeting, which has confirmed that Europe has grasped that differences are less important than what binds us together, and that this togetherness should be further consolidated. In this respect, Yugoslavia and Italy can be taken as an example, stressed the Yugoslav foreign minister, who added that "stable relations and developed cooperation with Italy" are significant for strengthening Yugoslav ties with the EC.

"The Democratization of international relations, tolerance for differences, tendencies toward realism, and respect for interdependence, without which the Gordian knot of the world's economic problems cannot be cut," are just some of the challenges facing the Nonaligned Movement, Budimir Loncar went on to say in his toast.

In conclusion, Loncar stressed that Andreotti's arrival takes place at a time when "Yugoslavia is facing undisguisedly great difficulties" and at a time "that is a big challenge for us and, I am convinced, a new beginning that will be in concert with our times and in accord with this country's historic options." "Your arrival, in itself, suggests the extent of your interest and readiness to understand our situation in the right way and as a friend. As the centuries-old wisdom of the people along all the meridians, you know who your real friends are when you are in trouble."

Replying to the toast, Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti said that relations between the SFRY and Italy were excellent. "In a reality that is increasingly interdependent, it is no longer possible to ignore—respecting in so doing everyone's sovereignty—others' difficulties." A country's difficulties, Andreotti said, rub off on others as well. "The difficulties of neighboring countries are putting us into a position to demonstrate, with our concrete behavior and our sentiments, understanding and solidarity," he stressed. "My arrival today is aimed at proving the confidence that the Italian Government and I personally have in your country and its dynamic opportunities for recovery, to which we would like to contribute as much as possible." The Italian foreign minister recalled that in bilateral and multilateral spheres, Italy "actively supported Yugoslav requests," among other things in the sphere of consolidating the dialogue between Yugoslavia and Europe.

Giulio Andreotti went on to say that with the SFRY-Italy cooperation memorandum that was signed last year, Italy wished to provide "not only a specific financial contribution but also a clear signal of the attention and confidence with which it views Yugoslavia's future."

Andreotti went on to stress that "as one of the historic leaders of the Nonaligned Movement," the SFRY is playing "an important role in the European and international context." Drawing attention to the importance of the forthcoming Nonaligned summit in Belgrade, the Italian foreign minister expressed the certainty that the SFRY "will know how to take on the role of the chairman with its customary sense of balance. Noting the success of the just-ended CSCE meeting in Vienna, Andreotti did not fail to emphasize the respect for "Yugoslavia's ability and initiative" in the work of that international forum.

The Italian foreign minister added that Rome was looking "with great favor" at the Belgrade initiative to strengthen inter-Balkan cooperation. "We also appreciate your contribution to cooperation taking place within the context of the Alpe-Adria setup", Andreotti said.

Concluding his toast, Giulio Andreotti expressed his conviction for the need to hold an open dialogue on the problem of the minorities "which have to be accepted as an element of rapproachement rather than that of division between the states." The Italian minority in Yugoslavia and the Slovene one in Italy are a reality that must be preserved and valued, Italian Foreign Minister Andreotti said in conclusion.

Dizdarevic Receives Andreotti

LD3001204389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 30 January (TANJUG)—SFRY President Presidency Raif Dizdarevic has received Giulio Andreotti, Italian minister of foreign affairs, who is visiting our country.

In cordial and very friendly talks, satisfaction was expressed with the development of Yugosalv-Italian relations, which are characterized by diverse and all-around cooperation in political, economic, cultural, and other spheres.

President Dizdarevic stressed the great importance for the development of those relations of permanent contacts at all levels and continuing political dialogue in the spirit of full mutual understanding, confidence, and good- neighborliness.

Foreign Minister Andreotti stressed that the line of friendship and cooperation which exists in Italy toward Yugoslavia is not the line of only one government, but is the stance of all the political forces of Italy. He expressed

the conviction that his visit would contribute to the realization as soon as possible of certain concrete issues in the sphere of economic cooperation, which have been the subject of recent talks.

President Dizdarevic spoke about the development of the internal situation in Yugoslavia and efforts being made to implement economic and social reform. Foreign Minister Andreotti expressed the conviction that Yugoslavia would successfully overcome its current difficulties and in this way would open prospects for new, dynamic development.

A large number of European countries, stressed the minister, are today going through great changes, because the moment has come when new solutions must be sought to many issues of economic and social development. He underlined Italy's readiness for active cooperation with Yugoslavia, both bilaterally, within the framework of the European Community, and in other international contexts.

At the meeting between Dizdarevic and Andreotti, attention was also paid to the preparations in Yugoslavia for the ninth summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

The talks were attended by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and the SFRY ambassador to Italy, Dusan Strbac.

Talks With Loncar

LD0202175189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today received Professor Dr Horst Ehmke, member of the SPD Presidium of the FRG and deputy chairman of the SPD group in the parliament, who is on a visit to Belgrade at the invitation of the LCY CC Presidium. On this occasion, Loncar and Ehmke held talks on European integrational movements and the SFRY's attitude toward them, as well as on Yugoslav priorities and the economic reform program.

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SPD's Ehmke Pays Official Visit

Meets With Officials

LD0202173589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—The member of the LCY CC Presidium, Vasil Tupurkovski, today held talks with member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of the Federal Republic of Germany, Horst Ehmke, who is visiting Belgrade at the invitation of the LCY CC Presidium.

During a lengthy friendly talk, the issues of cooperation among the left-wing parties in Europe and the potentials for joint involvement in general European cooperation and the relaxation of tension were considered.

In this context, the need for further improvement in the traditionally good relations between the LCY and the Social Democratic Party of Germany was underscored by both sides.

The president of the LCY Presidium, Stipe Suvar, also received Horst Ehmke today. Ehmke was particularly interested in the proceedings and results of the 20th session of the LCY CC and the reform processes in Yugoslvia, which he discussed with Stipe Suvar.

Diplomatic Moves in Afghanistan Welcomed
LD2601174689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia welcomes the diplomatic activities that have recently been under way aimed at ending hostilities in Afghanistan, Yugoslavia Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl said at a regular press conference here today.

He expressed the hope that the diplomatic activities would prove fruitful and that there would be no new conflicts or continued bloodshed after the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

The end of hostilities would create conditions for reaching a final solution to the problem of Afghanistan, based on self-determination and free of foreign interference, Vajgl said.

Orlandic Declines Montenegro Presidency Candidacy
LD0602144289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—Blazo Orlandic, a member of the former Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, whose collective resignation was accepted in mid-January, today declined the proposal that he serve as candidate for the same office again.

In his letter to the Republican Conference of the Montenegrin SAWP, Orlandic mentions that he had learned from POBJEDA that the conference Presidium, on the basis of the views and proposals submitted by the working people, citizens, and sociopolitical organs in several Montenegrin municipalities, had proposed him as a possible candidate for the Republican Presidency. "I thank all those who proposed me for this office for the trust you have displayed in me. I am also asking that during the electoral period ahead, I not be placed on the list of possible candidates for this body," Orlandic's letter says.

Presidency Candidates Named in Montenegro
LD0602155589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Titograd, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—The Republican Conference of the Montenegrin SAWP today approved the list of 10 candidates for 6 members of the new Presidency of the SR of Montenegro, due to be elected during the forthcoming session of the republican assembly on 15 February.

The following are on the list: Dr Mileva Filipovic, Dr Branko Kostic, Marko Lazarevic, Vadilije Milutinovic, Behudin Halilbegovic, Dr Muharem Dizdarevic, Jusuf Kalamperovic, Velizar Skerovic, Svetislav Nelevic, and Dr Dusan Martinovic. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin SAWP Leaders Elected
LD2801033689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin SAWP Republican Conference today elected the new leadership of this sociopolitical organization.

The newly elected Presidium consists of 19 members. Dr Branilaw Kovacevic was elected president and Petar Djurdjic secretary. Both were also members of the Presidium of the Republican Conference which resigned in the wake of the protest meeting in Titograd.

The president of the Montenegin Assembly's Sociopolitical Chamber, the president of the Republic Conference of Women, and general directors of Titograd radio and TV and POBJEDA will be ex officio members of the SAWP Presidium.

Three times as many candidates as members in the new Presidium were proposed by the municipal organizations of the front for the election of the new Presidium of the Montenegrin SAWP.

Kontic Proposed for Assembly President
LD0602173289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Titograd, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—The Socialist Republic of Montenegro Presidency today submitted a proposal to the republican assembly that Radivoje Kontic, the former member of the Federal Executive Council, should be a candidate for the president of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro Assembly Executive Council. [passage omitted]

Officials Decline Macedonian Presidency Support

Pancevski Withdraws
LD0302210689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—Milan Pancevski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today sent a letter to the Presidium of the Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference, expressing thanks for being submitted as a candidate for membership of the SFRY Presidency for the SR of Macedonia.

In view of the fact that the Presidium of the Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference—on the basis of the views and proposals of the working people and citizens from Macedonia—has put me forward as a possible candidate for membership of the SFRY Presidency,

Milan Pancevski says in his letter, I am writing to thank you for the confidence you have in me, and to ask you not to consider me as a possible candidate during any further candidacy procedure. I intimated my intention of withdrawing from the candidacy procedure to several most senior officials in the republic and the Federation some time ago.

My decision has been motivated mainly by the fact that I already discharge a very responsible office as a member of LCY Central Committee Presidium, and that during the period ahead the Presidium is facing exceptionally important tasks in solving major social issues and problems, including preparations for the forthcoming LCY Congress. [passage omitted]

Tupurkovski Declines

LD0302215289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Summary] Skopje, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the SAWP City Conference and the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Skopje today endorsed the list of four possible candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia, preference being given to Jakov Lazaroski and Milan Pancevski.

"However, Aleksandar Papes, representing the youth organization, during the session today once again stressed the Skopje youth's stand that Vasil Tupurkovski be submitted as a possible candidate for membership of the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia, because he fully satisfies all the criteria mentioned in the proposal for election as an SFRY Presidency member. Vasil Tupurkovski has been registered as a candidate in all environs of Skopje, which has only confirmed the wish of the people, working people, and citizens that Tupurkovski discharge this function.

"The fact is, however, that as early as registering the possible candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency, Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, expressed thanks for the confidence placed in him and for the candidacy, which was accepted by the Presidium of the Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference."

Macedonian Central Committee Holds Session

LD2801231189 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] The negative situation in the country and in Macedonia is used to a great extent by organized groups and individuals to destabilize the republic. This was the assessment made during the enlarged session today of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonial. These groups and individuals, who have lost their social power and privileges or are losing them as a result of the revolutionary action by the LC of Macedonia, are establishing alliances with individual bigwigs in some environments who still hold top office in big work collectives and who manipulate the dissatisfaction of the workers, although they do not enjoy the confidence of the working people in their environment. They are all acting from different ideopolitical positions, among which bureaucratic-dogmatic and bourgeois-liberalist positions are recognizable.

Macedonian LC Presidency Views Unrest

LD2901004089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2323 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Skopje, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia today cautioned that "organized groups and individuals" were manipulating with workers discontent in this insufficiently developed republic of Yugoslavia in order to destabilize its political situation and "win political power."

An announcement issued after the session of the republic's political top does not identify precisely the said groups and individuals. Yet it gives an indication about a collusion between, as is said, certain power-wielders and managers of individual enterprises. Their ideological views are qualified as "bureaucratic-dogmatic" on one hand, and as "bougeois-liberal" on the other.

Both trends, as the Macedonian party leadership asserts, are opposing the republic's democratic and self-management development, while those who strive for "forced toppling" of the authorities in Macedonia also enjoy the support of "groups and individuals" from other parts of Yugoslavia. Mentioned in this context is the dissemination—through a section of the Yugoslav press—of the "lies about the alleged violations of human rights and freedoms, especially about the position of Albanian nationality in Macedonia."

Having mentioned some more cases and difficulties with which the republic is confronted, the Macedonian party leadership calls the workers and all socialist forces to energetically oppose the vehicles of destabilization and "to render impossible their undermining and inciting activity" evaluating them as forces which are against the reforms and democratization of Yugoslavia's society.

The issued announcement assesses that an intensified action of the League of Communists in the republic as well as throughout the country is absolutely necessary towards a quicker implementation of economic reforms and towards a democratic transformation of the party, which accounts for the only way out of the crisis.

The republic's presidency, as was announced today, also dedicated even two of its sessions in the past weeks time to the "complex socio-economic situation in the country and in the republic." The presidency also indicated the attempted "hostile activities" to redirect the "just revolt of working people and citizens" towards destabilizing the situation in Macedonia.

Otherwise, in Yugoslavia's southernmost republic, the activities of Albanian nationalism and separatism have rather long been present (the republic's population of two million includes 400,000 members of Albanian nationality). In the past few days, in central Macedonian locality of Kavadarci several thousand people have taken to the streets demanding resignations of the eight leaders in the communal leadership.

Rosoman Residents Demand Irrigation Assistance

LD2901142689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 29 Jan 89

[Excerpts] In the Tikves village of Rosoman [Kavadarci Municipality, Macedonia], a protest meeting involving approximately 1,500 residents ended late last night. They had gathered to express their dissatisfaction with the Makarija Basic Organization of Associated Labor's behavior. The organization, which operates within the Tikves agricultural combine in Kavadarci, last year sold the pipes that for years had been used for irrigating approximately 500 hectares of fertile Rosoman fields.

At an extended session of the local community and sociopolitical structures in the village and municipality—in which Bogdan Todorovski, chairman of the Republican Committee for Water Management also took part—there was discussion of the water users' requests that the irrigation system be restored to its original state. [passage omitted]

The request was adopted for the initiation of proceedings to replace the director of the Makarija Basic Organization of Associated Labor and other responsibile workers who, by selling the pipes, left the Rosoman fields without irrigation and thus threatened a large number of residents' existence and deteriorated the political-security situation in this region.

Rosoman residents dispersed only after Simo Cvetkovski, chairman of the local community, announced to them that all their demands had been met.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Meets 27 Jan

LD2801124489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Provincial Committee [PC] of the Kosovo LC, awaited with great interest, began with a discussion of cadre renewal in that forum and its presidium. This is probably why the session began an hour late, because despite of the order of items on the agenda issued yesterday, this issue was the first item discussed. [passage omitted]

Hisen Kajdomcaj, chairman of the candidature commission, said in his introductory remarks that the discussion of the list of candidates in Kosovo was democratic. But he said there was national division during the discussion of the list. On behalf of the Kosovo LC PC Presidium, Kajdomcaj proposed that a vote be taken on the proposed list, on which the number of candidates is the same as the number of members of the LC PC and of its Presidium to be elected.

It was shown, however, that some PC members do not agree with this proposal. They insist that there be more candidates on the list of people nominated for the top functions in the Kosovo party leadership. One of the first who advocated this was Azem Vlasi. He said that the stances of the LCY conference and the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee should be respected. He suggested that at its next session the PC look into the question of cadre renewal, explaining his proposal by saying "that if we have waited until now, a short delay will do no harm." Vlasi believes that among the proposed candidates for membership in the LC PC and its presidium, a team has been established that is not stronger in relation to the existing team. He said there is no one from direct production among the candidates for the LC PC Presidium. [passage omitted]

Several of those who spoke in the discussion demanded that Agim Malja be put on the list of candidates for the LC PC Presidium. However, they accepted Hisen Kajdomcaj's explanation that Malja asked not to be put on the list because of the work pressure he is under as manager of Pristina television. [passage omitted]

The acute situation in our southern province was recalled by Radisa Gacic, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. He stressed that this had to be considered during the vote. Gacic recalled division during the discussion today too, and appealed to unity and the need for cadre renewal with proven and capable cadres. He suggested that they not opt for a list with several candidates because this would lead to further division, but have a critical discussion on the candidates who have been put forward.

Azem Vlasi spoke again after Gacic, putting forward the same arguments he had the first time.

Since views still differed on the issue of one or several candidates on the list, a break was allowed. The Kosovo LC PC Presidium held a session during the break. When the session resumed, the PC members were briefed on its stance that, after all, a closed list should be voted on, with the same number of proposed candidates. Both Vojislav Zajic and Hasim Redzepi spoke in favor of this procedure and the proposal was then voted for and finally accepted by the PC members. [passage omitted]

Subsequently, the Kosovo LC PC adopted an action program for the activity of the Kosovo LC in implementing of the tasks of the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

Submitting the introductory report on this new document, Ljubomir Popovic, a member of the Kosovo LC PC Presidium, recalled that there had been hesitation

and delay and an opportunist and uncritical approach to the implementation of the key stance on the responsibility of the PC and its presidium, which made the political and security situations in the province considerably worse. Resolute action was lacking, he said, on establishing unity in the Kosovo LC and its organs in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism, while the logic of waiting had gained the upper hand in the presidium, which opened the way to the erroneous conviction that the moves to follow were forced by the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee. Lack of unity during the last two sessions (?alone) blocked all the work of the Kosovo LC. Because the reasons for the deteriorating situation are not being eliminated, Serbs and Montenegrins are emigrating and giving notice of collective migration, and intranational division and mistrust are worsening.

Popovic recalled the immediate reasons for the protest meetings and demonstrations by the citizens of Albanian nationality, adding that they had drastically worsened the already complex political situation. In particular, they reflected adversely on intranational relations and intensified the feelings of insecurity and danger for the Serb and Montenegrin population; members of other nations, including a big part of the Albanian nationality; and threatened degeneration into intranational conflicts.

There are tendencies to return the discussion of the situation in the province back to its initial stages and to dilute and disavow the present conclusions about Kosovo. This could have dangerous consequences, and this is why we should no longer procrastinate in evaluating and analyzing the November events, said Popovic, announcing that this will be adopted during the next PC session.

Everything that has been happening, including the divisions manifested so far in the discussions on these events, alarms the Yugoslav public. While we are weighing things and waiting, the party membership has divided to such an extent that there is the threat of even more than verbal conflict. Our involvement must be exceptional because the situation is exceptional, stressed Popovic. [passage omitted]

During the break that followed, a brief session of the Kosovo LC PC Presidium was held, during which Rahman Morina was unanimously elected the new president. It was also announced that Tomislav Sekulic is the candidate for the office of presidium secretary. LC municipal committees in Kosovo have to give their views on this proposal. [passage omitted]

In the discussion on the second item on the agenda, the action program for the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session, Junuz Alia suggested that the migration into Albania from the border areas should also be considered as emigration.

Ali Sabani said he was against the evaluation of the November events in the province being incorporated in the action program. He added that he was also bothered by the stands that Kosovo is a constituent part of the SR of Serbia and a constituent factor of SFRY. To avoid diverse interpretations, it would be better to say that Kosovo is a constituent element of the SFRY, said Sabani. [passage omitted]

In the discussion on the action program, Sinan Hasani insisted that it address itself especially to the task of establishing a united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and all other nations and nationalities in Kosovo. Unless they lead a free and equal life together within the framework of the SR of Serbia, there will be no continued existence or further socialist development, stressed Hasani. We must come to our senses, he said, and see where there is a place for Communists and progressive forces.

Hasani stressed that stopping the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is a key problem and insisted that: "Once and for all a stop must be put to it" and that the same applied to existing national divisions. He made a positive evaluation of the outcome of the vote at a session today, suggesting that this testifies to maturity and a wish to overcome the confrontations.

A positive evaluation of the outcome of the plenum today was also made by LCY Central Committee Presidium Member Radisa Gacic, who made a critical reference to the shortcomings in the work of the previous LC PC and its presidium. He recalled, among other things, that party organs had not adopted an action program immediately after the 17th session. They hesitated when considering item 9 of the aforementioned conclusions and, somewhat later, in evaluating the massive November meetings and demonstrations by the Albanians. [passage omitted]

Gacic described consistent and comprehensive implementation of item 9 of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session on the responsibility of the members of the PC and its organs as a most important task of the LC PC and its presidium. The task of establishing responsibility, he stressed, must be extended to some party structures in the municipalities and in work collectives. He mentioned the adoption of the evaluation of the November events, and the establishment of possible responsibilities for their inspirators and organizers as an important task.

Another commitment of the Kosovo party leadership is to successfully carry out the forthcoming changes in the Serb Constitution and to explain to the population of the province, especially the Albanians, that they are losing nothing and that no one's rights will be curtailed.

Gacic said that within the framework of the discussion on the present political situation in the country, the LCY Central Committee will discuss Kosovo as early as next

Monday. The situation in this province will also be discussed at one of the forthcoming LCY Central Committee sessions. In conclusion, Gacic warned that if the LC PC and its presidium do not carry out their commitment and implement their consistently established tasks, the LCY Central Committee will have to avail itself of the opportunites offered it by Article 53 of the LCY Statute.

At the end of the session, a report was heard on the responsibility of individual members of the Kosovo LC PC and its presidium submitted by Seljami Hisari on behalf of the working group of the Kosovo LC PC. He said that the working group ought to have completed this job but was unable to do so because of the volume and weight of the job.

Hisari stressed that the working group is independent and that there is no outside influence of any kind. He mentioned the fairness of all PC members with whom they had talks. From what they had perceived so far, owing to their insight into the facts and the rather bulky material, the working group concluded that there were elements for establishing the responsibility of individual members of the Kosovo LC PC and its presidium. This job has to be completed by the next session, which Rahman Morina said would be held very soon.

Petar Jaksic drew attention to the serious nature of the situation and suggested that the working group speed up its work to avoid any further national divisions, as he put it. He suggested that the working group be enlarged by two more PC members and proposed they be Iljaz Ramajli and Dusko Celic.

Dusan Celic expressed his fear as to whether the report by the working group would sustain the criticism by the party membership in the province and indeed throughout the country. He believes that the group should not be enlarged now because it has completed most of the work.

Rahman Morina, who was chairing the session, concurred with Celic's proposal. The PC agreed with this suggestion, and this brought the LC PC session to an end.

Ethnic Albanians Stage Protests in Kosovo

LD0502113589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1014 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, Feb 4 [date as received] (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanian workers held rallies in several plants in Yugoslavia's southern province of Kosovo today in protest against certain assessments and decisions of the last federal party plenum ended three days ago.

In an electrified atmosphere, a thousand miners from Trepca mines here bitterly attacked assessments of ethnic Albanian rallies in provincial capital Pristina in November, denying these meetings were well-organised and synchronised demonstrations helped by a number of Kosovo officials and aimed at halting constitutional changes and the sacking of the party leaders mostly responsible for the grave situation in the province.

Shortly before the party plenum, there was a change in the provincial party committee, electing former provincial police chief Rahman Morina to replace the provincial party chief.

The plenum expelled from the Central Committee former top Kosovo politicians Azem Vlasi and Svetislav Dolasevic.

The Titova Mitrovica miners viewed the November demonstrations in a positive light and stressed that they support changes too. They criticised Serbian party chief Slobodan Milosevic for conducting an anti-Albanian policy but attacked also Albanian officials for supporting the conclusions of the plenum on the change in the Kosovo leadership. A number supported Vlasi and demanded that the new party leadership resign.

Attacks and criticism were also directed at Morina who attended the miners' rally with a group of party officials.

Morina opposed as dangerous insinuations the thesis that Albanians are endangered as well as the claims that constitutional changes will deprive Kosovo of autonomy and ethnic Albanians of their equality and language.

He warned the protesters that the policy of Kosovo's isolation from Serbia (of which it is a part) and its drifting away from Yugoslavia is wrong. He stressed that constitutional changes will not dent economic, political and cultural rights of nationalities, nor jeopardise their national identity. He said that the changes are aimed at accelerating the development and improving the better life of all in Yugoslavia.

Smaller protest rallies with similar demands were held in Prizren, Suva Reka and Lipljan. In all these places, as here, the protesters demanded to see federal party President Suvar and Milosevic.

Growing Support Reported

AU0602150689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] As a gesture of solidarity with the workers and miners of Stari Trg, the workers on the first shift of the Gnjilane textile combine and the Ramiz Sadiku car parts work organization of Pec stopped production this morning.

Several hundred workers on the first shift of the Gnjilane textile combine stopped production at 1130 [1030 GMT] as a gesture of solidarity with the workers and miners of the Stari Trg. Gathered in the factory's canteen, they demanded a fuller explanation of the mass gatherings that took place last November.

It was stressed that they energetically oppose the assessment that these rallies had an anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav character. They were of the opinion that the aim of those rallies was to defend Tito's Yugoslavia and brotherhood among the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

After a 1-hour stoppage and a discussion with the management, the workers resumed work. They agreed to hold another meeting tomorrow morning. This meeting, as stated, should be attended by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium; Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; and Ali Sukrija.

At about 1300 [1200 GMT] more than 500 workers from the first shift of the Ramiz Sadiku car parts plant of Pec gathered in the canteen in order to, as stated, discuss the mass gatherings and constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, and to extend their support to the Trepca miners.

They demanded that, in addition to the representatives of the communal sociopolitical organization, their gathering also be attended by Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, Rahman Morina, Tomislav Sekulic, and Ali Sukrija.

At this moment, the Ramiz Sadiku workers are still in the factory canteen. They have decided to stay there until they are at least addressed by somebody from the provincial leadership.

We have also learned that similar gatherings are being held in some organizations in Urosevac, Suva Reka, and Prizren.

Vojvodina Candidates for Presidency Announced

LD0602154789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 6th Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session of the working group of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference, which is carrying out the functions of the Presidency, a final list was established of possible candidates for membership of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina. Of a total of 66 candidates presented in the municipalities of Vojvodina, a list has been established with the following names: Pavel Djendjur, Jugoslav Kostic, Janos Mesaros, Simeon Ramac, Obrad Jelic, Djordje Scepancevic, Aleksandar Vasic-Capajev, and Tomislav Vojvodic. Four people will be elected from this list.

At a session of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference scheduled for 9 February, the proposed candidates will be confirmed and these names will be sent to the Vojvodina Assembly for further procedure.

Six SFRY Presidency Candidates in Slovenia

AU2701133289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jan 89 p 3

[V.S report: "Six Candidates Remaining"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Jan—There are six candidates still remaining in the election race for member of the SFRY Presidency from Slovenia (as many as 73 candidates were nominated): Marko Bulc (born 1926), chemistry graduate; Janez Drnovsek (born 1950), doctor of economic science; Tomaz Kalin (born 1936), doctor of physics and director of the Jozef Stalin Institute; Gojko Stanic (born 1940), professor at the Electronics Faculty in Ljubljana; Dusan Sinigoj (1933), economics graduate and president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia; and Vink Vasle (born 1949), journalist working for KMECKI GLAS.

For the first time in any elections in our country, citizens will be able to vote for the candidates directly. They will be helped in their decision by the programs of the six candidates, which were published in DELO on Saturday.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Candidates Named

LD2401160289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GNMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's separate sessions of its chambers, the Assembly of Bosina-Hercegovina drew up a list of seven candidates for membership in the Yugoslav Presidency. These are: Raif Dizdarevic, Mirko Ostojic, Milan Uzelac, Milan Skoro, Marko Ceranic, Nikola Filipovic, and Zdravko Grebo.

Bosna Factory Wrokers End 9-Day Strike

LD0602023589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Bosanski Brod, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—At an extraordinary session of the workers' meeting on Saturday morning, the workers of the Bosna knitwear factory of Bosanski Brod decided, though grudgingly, to end a 9-day strike and return to their machines tomorrow.

Almost 800 Bosna workers stopped working on 27 January, when the workers demanded a 100-percent increase in their personal incomes, which currently averages 270,000 dinars, and a single aid payment of 500,000 dinars. The reduction of the administrative and maintenance staff and the replacement of the collective's management were also demanded. When their demand was not granted within the factory's premises, they appeared in the street on Monday [30 January] morning carrying Tito's portrats and banners; they arrived outside the building of the sociopolitical organizations in Bosanski Brod.

Since they did not reach an agreement with the component representatives of the municipality and region, they continued with the strike, and eventually, on 31 January, 250 workers of the "Sockshop," as Bosnia is nicknamed, boarded five buses, which took them to Sarajevo, where they were received by the representatives of the Assembly of Bosnia and Hercegovina. [passage ommitted]